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PHILOBIBLON,
A TREATISE
ON
THE LOVE OF BOOKS:

BY
RICHARD DE BURY,
BISHOP OF DURHAM.

WRITTEN IN MCCCXLIV,
AND TRANSLATED FROM THE FIRST EDITION, MCCCCLXXIII.

WITH SOME COLLATIONS.

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ERRATUM.

Preface, page v. line 3, *for* Brunet's Catalogue *read* Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual.

PREFACE.

IT was not my intention to add anything to this tract, as the Author has not only sufficiently explained himself, but given as much of his history, as was necessary to let the reader know who and what he was, and when he lived ; and further particulars may be found in several Biographies. When the Translation was nearly all printed, a learned friend, “ *cujus hamum pisciculus nullus evadat,*” lent me the Bibliographical and Retrospective Miscellany, containing the most ample and best drawn up account of the Author I have any where seen. To that the curious reader is referred; for it would be unjust to make use of so recent a publication here, and the work is moreover in other respects worthy of perusal. The error noticed in it,—for such it must be,—of attributing the *Philobiblon* to *Holcot*, will perhaps be best

corrected by the book itself, the proofs of autobiography it contains being sufficient for that purpose. Whatever Holcot may have been in his younger days, he certainly was not an amanuensis at the time this book was written: nor is it likely he drew it up from notes; for the following notice in Mr. James's Preface shows that it was finished in the Author's life-time: "*Quod opus (Philobiblon) Aucklandiæ in habitatione sua complevit, 24 die Januarij anno a communis salutis origine 1344, ætatis suæ 58 et 11 sui pontificatus:*" he died 14 April, 1345. Holcot died in 1349. In the quotations in the Bibliographical Miscellany all the u's are turned into v's:—they may be so in the MS. quoted from, but the custom of writing for some centuries before 1300, and of printing down to the end of the 15th century, was never to use the v but as an initial; and many books are without it, except as a capital. My knowledge, however, of MSS. is very limited, but I suspect the one in question is not early.

It is noticed in the same Miscellany, that a translation of this book with the Latin text

was about to be published. The gentleman above alluded to also pointed out to me the same notice in Brunet's Catalogue 1828, and it is said to have been given elsewhere some years before that time. If it had appeared, this translation certainly would not. It is only now printed at the request of others: the Notes were written at a similar request, after it was sent to the press. They were therefore hastily gathered from such sources as were nearest at hand, and as memory supplied: but illustration is endless, and from monkish authorities perhaps neither amusing nor instructive. The *Philobiblon* is almost entirely composed of allusion and quotation, which may account for the peculiarity and abruptness of its style in some parts. There is also an appearance of negligence in it; as a change from the first to the third person, breaking off the part where books are made to speak for themselves, and taking it up again; omissions, redundancies, and some things misplaced. This was not to be expected from a person so particular about books, as we must suppose the Author was;

—it is also no mark of editorship. The best inference is, that the author had lost his health ; and having elsewhere drawn up his directions about the custody and disposal of his books in a legal form, as the 19th chapter indicates, he was the more careless about this work. Thomas à Kempis is the only early writer I know of, who ever made use of the *Philobiblon*, three or four chapters of his *Doctrinale Juvenum* being taken from it without acknowledgement. He died in 1471, and may have written his *Doctrinale* much earlier ; his MS. must have been of early date ; and it is probable that the edition 1473 was printed from it, or a copy of it : this is in favour of its genuineness ; though it is badly printed, and in some places difficult to read. It was not thought necessary to reprint the Latin text, as the few who take an interest in it may find it elsewhere, and it may perhaps yet appear from the hand of a more competent editor.

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¶ Here beginneth the Prologue to a Treatise upon the Love of Books, which is called Philobiblon.

TO all the faithful in Christ, to whom the tenor of this present writing may descend, Richard de Bury, by divine commiseration Bishop of Durham, wisheth eternal health in the Lord, as also to present a pious memorial of himself before God, while he yet liveth, and likewise after his decease.

The invincible king, psalmist, and greatest of prophets, most devoutly asks, "What can I render to the Lord for all that he hath conferred upon me?" In which most grateful question he recognizeth in himself the willing retributer, the multifarious debtor, and the most soundly discerning counsellor; agreeing with Aristotle, the prince of philosophers, who proves the whole question about things practicable, to be deliberate choice.—Ethics, B. 3 & 6. Truly, if

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so admirable a prophet having a fore-knowledge of divine secrets, was willing thus earnestly to premeditate upon the manner in which he might acceptably return gifts by thanks, what more worthily shall we, who are rude thankers and most eager receivers, laden with infinite divine benefactions, be able to resolve upon? Without doubt, in anxious deliberation and increased circumspection, the septiform Spirit being first invoked, so that an illuminating fire may burn in our meditation, we ought most attentively to look forward to the unbeaten way in which the Dispenser of all things would willingly be reciprocally venerated on account of his gifts conferred upon us. Let our neighbour be relieved of his burthen, and the guilt daily contracted by our sins be redeemed by the remedy of alms.

Forewarned, therefore, by admonition of this devotion, by him who alone anticipates and perfects the good will of man (without whom no sufficiency of thinking in any way suggests itself, of whom we doubt not is the reward for whatever good we shall have done), we have diligently discussed within ourselves, and also inquired of others, which amongst the duties of the various kinds of piety might be in the first degree pleasing to the Most High, and best promote the Church militant. And behold a herd of outcast

rather than of elect scholars meets the views of our contemplation, in whom God the artificer, and Nature his handmaid, have planted the roots of the best morals and most celebrated sciences. But the penury of their private affairs so oppresses them, being opposed by adverse fortune, that the fruitful seeds of virtue, so productive in the unexhausted field of youth, unmoistened by their wonted dews, are compelled to wither. Whence it happens, as Boetius says, that bright virtue lies hid in obscurity, and the burning lamp is not put under a bushel, but is utterly extinguished for want of oil. Thus the flowery field in spring is plowed up before harvest ; thus wheat gives way to tares, the vine degenerates to woodbine, and the olive grows wild and unproductive. The slender beams which might have grown into strong pillars of the Church entirely decay. Men, endowed with the capacity of a subtle wit, relinquish the schools of learning, violently repelled by the sole envy of a stepmother from the nectareous cup of philosophy, having first tasted of it, and by the very taste become more fervently thirsty. Fitted for the liberal arts, and equally disposed to the contemplation of Scripture, but destitute of the needful aid, they revert, as it were, by a sort of apostasy, to mechanical arts solely for the sake of food, to the impoverishment of the

Church, and the degradation of the whole clerical profession. Thus the mother Church conceiving sons, is compelled to miscarry, if indeed some monstrous misshapen abortion is not torn from her womb ; and instead of the few and the smallest with which she is by nature contented, she sends forth egregious bantlings, and finally promotes them as the *athletæ* and champions of the faith. Alas, how quickly the web is cut up, while the hand of the weaver is yet at work ! How soon the sun is eclipsed in the clearest sky, and the progressing planet becomes retrograde ! How suddenly the meteor, exhibiting the nature and appearance of a real star, falls down ; for it is formed from below. What can the pious man more pitifully behold ? What can more keenly penetrate the bowels of compassion ? What more readily dissolve a heart, though hard as an anvil, into the warmest tears ?

Arguing further on the contrary side, let us call to mind from the events of former times, how greatly it profited the whole Christian republic, not indeed to enervate students by the luxuries of Sardanapalus, nor yet by the riches of Cræsus, but rather to support the poor in scholastic mediocrity. How many have we seen, how many have we collected from writings, who, not being distinguished by brilliancy of birth, nor boasting of hereditary succession, but supported alone by

the piety of just men, have deserved the Apostolical Chair, and most honourably presided over its faithful subjects, have subjected the necks of the proud and exalted, to the ecclesiastical yoke, and easily procured the liberty of the Church !

Wherefore, taking a thorough survey of human wants, with a view of charitable consideration for this obscure class of men, in whom, however, such great hopes of advantage to the Church are felt, the bent of our compassion has peculiarly predisposed us to offer our pious aid ; and not only to provide them with necessary food, but, what is more, with the most useful books for study. For this purpose, most acceptable to the Lord, our unwearied attention hath already been long upon the watch. This ecstatic love hath indeed so powerfully seized upon us, that, discharging all other earthly pursuits from our mind, we have alone ardently desired the acquisition of books. That the motive of our object, therefore, may be manifest as well to posterity as to our contemporaries, and that we may, in so far as it concerns ourselves, for ever close the perverse mouths of talkers, we have drawn up a little treatise, in the lightest style indeed of the moderns (for it is ridiculous in rhetoricians to write pompously when the subject is trifling), which treatise will purge the love we have had for books from

excess, will advance the purpose of our intense devotion, and will narrate in the clearest manner all the circumstances of our undertaking, dividing them into twenty Chapters. But because it principally treats of the Love of Books, it hath pleased us, after the fashion of the ancient Latins, fondly to name it by a Greek word Philobiblon.

Here endeth the Prologue.

CHAPTER I.

On the Commendation of Wisdom, and of
Books in which Wisdom dwelleth.

THE desirable treasure of wisdom and knowledge, which all men covet from the impulse of nature, infinitely surpasses all the riches of the world ; in comparison with which, precious stones are vile, silver is clay, and purified gold grains of sand ; in the splendour of which, the sun and moon grow dim to the sight ; in the admirable sweetness of which, honey and manna are bitter to the taste. The value of wisdom decreaseth not with time ; it hath an ever-flourishing virtue that cleanseth its possessor from every venom. O celestial gift of divine liberality, descending from the Father of light to raise up the rational soul even to heaven ! Thou art the celestial alimony of intellect, of which whosoever eateth shall yet hunger, and whoso drinketh shall yet thirst ; a harmony rejoicing the soul of the sorrowful, and never in any way discomposing the hearer. Thou art the moderator and the rule of morals, operating according to which, none will err. By thee kings reign, and lawgivers decree justly. Through thee, the rusticity of nature being cast off, wits and tongues

being polished, and the thorns of vice utterly eradicated, the summit of honour is reached ; and they become fathers of their country and companions of princes, who, without thee, might have forged their lances into spades and plowshares, or perhaps have fed swine with the prodigal son. Where then, most potent, most longed-for treasure, art thou concealed ? and where shall the thirsty soul find thee ? Undoubtedly, indeed, thou hast placed thy desirable tabernacle in books, where the Most High, the Light of light, the Book of Life hath established thee. There then all who ask receive, all who seek find thee, to those who knock thou openest quickly. In books cherubim expand their wings, that the soul of the student may ascend and look around from pole to pole, from the rising to the setting sun, from the north and from the sea. In them the Most High incomprehensible God himself is contained and worshiped. In them the nature of celestial, terrestrial and infernal beings is laid open. In them the laws by which every polity is governed are decreed, the offices of the celestial hierarchy are distinguished, and tyrannies of such demons are described as the ideas of Plato never surpassed, and the chair of Crato never contained.

In books we find the dead as it were living ; in books we foresee things to come ; in books warlike

affairs are methodized ; the rights of peace proceed from books. All things are corrupted and decay with time. Saturn never ceases to devour those whom he generates ; insomuch that the glory of the world would be lost in oblivion if God had not provided mortals with a remedy in books. Alexander the ruler of the world ; Julius the invader of the world and of the city, the first who in unity of person assumed the empire in arms and arts ; the faithful Fabricius, the rigid Cato, would at this day have been without a memorial if the aid of books had failed them. Towers are razed to the earth, cities overthrown, triumphal arches mouldered to dust ; nor can the King, or Pope be found, upon whom the privilege of a lasting name can be conferred more easily than by books. A book made, renders succession to the author : for as long as the book exists, the author remaining *αθάνατος*, immortal, cannot perish ; as Ptolemy witnesseth in the Prologue of his *Almagest*, he (he says) is not dead, who gave life to science.

What learned scribe, therefore, who draws out things new and old from an infinite treasury of books, will limit their price by any other thing whatever of another kind ? Truth overcoming all things, which ranks above kings, wine and women, to honour which above friends obtains the benefit of sanctity, which is the way that deviates not, and

the life without end ; to which the holy Boetius attributes a threefold existence, in the mind, in the voice, and in writing, appears to abide most usefully and fructify most productively of advantage in books. For the truth of the voice perishes with the sound. Truth latent in the mind, is hidden wisdom and invisible treasure; but the truth which illuminates books desires to manifest itself to every disciplinable sense, to the sight when read, to the hearing when heard : it, moreover, in a manner commends itself to the touch, when submitting to be transcribed, collated, corrected and preserved. Truth confined to the mind, though it may be the possession of a noble soul, while it wants a companion and is not judged of, either by the sight, or the hearing, appears to be inconsistent with pleasure. But the truth of the voice is open to the hearing only, and latent to the sight (which shows us many differences of things fixed upon by a most subtle motion, beginning and ending as it were simultaneously). But the truth written in a book, being not fluctuating, but permanent, shows itself openly to the sight, passing through the spiritual ways of the eyes, as the porches and halls of common sense and imagination ; it enters the chamber of intellect, reposes itself upon the couch of memory, and there congenerates the eternal truth of the mind.

Lastly, let us consider how great a commodity of doctrine exists in books, how easily, how secretly, how safely they expose the nakedness of human ignorance without putting it to shame. These are the masters who instruct us without rods and ferules, without hard words and anger, without clothes or money. If you approach them, they are not asleep ; if investigating you interrogate them, they conceal nothing ; if you mistake them, they never grumble ; if you are ignorant, they cannot laugh at you.

You only, O Books, are liberal and independent. You give to all who ask, and enfranchise all who serve you assiduously. How many thousands of things do you typically recommend to learned men, in writing after a divinely inspired manner ; for you are the deepest mines of Wisdom, to which the wise man sent his son that he might thence dig up treasure. Prov. ii. You are the wells of living water, which the Patriarch Abraham first dug, and Isaac again cleared out after the Philistines had endeavoured to fill them up. Gen. xxvi. Truly you are the ears filled with most palatable grains, to be rubbed out by apostolical hands alone, that the most grateful food for hungry souls may come out of them. Matth. xii. You are golden urns in which manna is laid up, rocks flowing with honey, or rather indeed honey-combs ; udders most

copiously yielding the milk of life, store-rooms ever full ; the tree of life, the four-streamed river of Paradise, where the human mind is fed, and the arid intellect moistened and watered ; the ark of Noah, the ladder of Jacob, the troughs by which the foetus in those who look upon them is coloured, the stones of the covenant, and the pitchers preserving the lamps of Gideon ; the bag of David from which polished stones are taken that Goliah may be prostrated. You, O Books, are the golden vessels of the temple, the arms of the clerical militia with which the missiles of the most wicked are destroyed, fruitful olives, vines of Engaddi, fig-trees knowing no sterility ; burning lamps to be ever held in the hand. And, if it please us to speak figuratively, we shall be able to adapt the best sayings of every writing whatever to books.

CHAPTER II.

Showeth that Books are to be preferred to
Riches and Corporal Pleasures.

IF anything whatever, according to a degree of value, deserves a degree of love, the present Chapter truly proves the ineffable value of books, though its conclusions may probably not appear clear to the reader; for we do not make use of demonstration in moral subjects, seeing that it is the business of a moral man to seek for certainty accordingly as he may have perceived the nature of the subject to bear it, as the archphilosopher witnesseth, 1. Ethic. 2. Metaph.; for Tully neither requires Euclid, nor does Euclid put faith in Tully. But this indeed we endeavour either logically, or rhetorically to inculcate, that riches and pleasures of every kind ought to give way to books in a spiritual mind, where the spirit, which is charity, ordaineth charity.

In the first place indeed, because more wisdom is contained in books than all mortals comprehend; and wisdom holds riches in no esteem, as alleged in the preceding Chapter. Moreover Aristotle (Problems, Sect. 30. Dis. 11.) determines this question, viz. Upon what account did the ancients

chiefly appoint prizes for gymnastic and corporal exertions, and never decree any reward for wisdom? Which question, he thus solves. In gymnastic exercises, the reward is better and more eligible than that for which it is given ; but it is evident, nothing is better than wisdom, wherefore no reward could have been assigned to wisdom ; therefore neither riches nor pleasures are more excellent than wisdom. Again, that friendship is to be preferred to riches, none but a fool will deny ; to this the wisest of men bears witness. But the archphilosopher honours truth above friendship ; and the ancient Zorobabel gives it precedence over all things ; therefore pleasures are inferior to truth. But the Sacred Books most powerfully preserve and contain the truth ; they are assuredly the written truth itself ; for upon this occasion we do not assert the main beams of the books to be parts of books, wherefore riches are inferior to books, more especially as the most precious of all kinds of riches are friends (witness Boetius de Consolatione, B. 2.), to which, however, the truth of books is preferred by Aristotle. But, further, as riches are primarily and principally acknowledged to pertain to the aid of the body only, and as the truth of books is the perfection of reason, which is properly named the good of mankind ; so it appears that books to a man using them with reason

are dearer than riches. Again, that by which the faith is most conveniently defended, most widely diffused, and most clearly preached, ought to be most beloved by a faithful man ; and that is the truth of books, inscribed in books ; which our Saviour most evidently figured when, manfully fighting against temptation, he covered himself with the shield of truth, not indeed of writing of any sort ; but premising, that what he was about to declare by the sound of his living voice, was also written. Matth. iv.

Again, therefore, nobody doubts that happiness is to be preferred to riches, for happiness is consistent with the operation of the most noble and divine power we possess, namely, when the intellect is entirely at leisure for the contemplation of the truth of knowledge, which is the most delectable of all operations according to virtue, as the prince of philosophers determines in the Nicomachian Ethics, B. 10. on which account philosophy also appears to possess admirable delights from its purity and stability, as the same author states in the sequel. But the contemplation of truth is never more perfect than in books, as the active imagination, kept up by a book, does not permit the operation of the intellect upon visible truths to be interrupted. For which reason books appear to be the most immediate instruments of

speculative happiness ; whence Aristotle, the Sun of physical truth, where he unfolds the doctrine of objects of choice, teaches, that to philosophize is in itself more eligible than to grow rich, although from necessary circumstances in the case, it may be thought more eligible for an indigent man to grow rich than to philosophize. 3. Topics. Inasmuch, then, as books are our most convenient masters, as the preceding Chapter assumes, it becomes us not undeservedly to bestow upon them, not only love, but magisterial honour.

Finally, as all men by nature are desirous of knowledge, and as we are able by books to obtain the knowledge of truth, to be chosen before all riches, what man, living according to nature, can be without an appetite for books ? But although we may see hogs despise pearls, the opinion of a prudent man is in no way injured by that ; he will not the less purchase proffered pearls. The library, therefore, of wisdom is more precious than all riches, and nothing that can be wished for is worthy to be compared with it. Prov. iii. Who-soever, therefore, acknowledges himself to be a zealous follower of truth, of happiness, of wisdom, of science, or even of the faith, must of necessity make himself a Lover of Books.

CHAPTER III.

Books ought always to be bought except
in two cases.

WE draw this corollary satisfactory to ourselves from what has been said, although, as we believe, but few will receive it ; namely, that no expense ought to prevent men from buying books when what is demanded for them is at their command, unless the knavery of the seller is to be withstood, or a better opportunity of purchasing is expected. Because if wisdom alone, which is an infinite treasure to man, determines the price of books, and if the value of books is ineffable, as the premises suppose, how can a bargain be proved to be dear which purchases an infinite benefit. For this reason Solomon, the sun of mankind, (Prov. xxiii.) exhorts us to buy books freely and sell sparingly : he says, Buy truth, and sell not wisdom. But what we now rhetorically and logically inculcate, we can support by histories of past events. The archphilosopher Aristotle, whom Averroes thinks was given as it were for a rule in nature, bought a few of Speusippus's books immediately after his death for 72,000 sesterces. Plato, prior to him as to time, but his inferior as to doctrine,

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bought the library of Philolaus the Pythagorean for 10,000 denarii ; from which he is said to have extracted the dialogue of Timæus, as Aulus Gellius relates, *Noct. Attic. Lib. 3. c. 16.* But Aulus Gellius relates these things, that the ignorant may consider how greatly the wise undervalue money in comparison with books : and on the contrary, that we may all know the folly attached to pride, let us here review the folly of Tarquin the Proud in undervaluing books, as the same Aulus Gellius relates it, *Lib. 1. c. 19. Noct. Attic.* “A certain old woman, quite unknown, is said to have come into the presence of Tarquin the Proud, the seventh king of the Romans, and offered him nine books for sale, in which, as she asserted, the Divine oracles were contained ; but she demanded such an immense sum of money for them, that the king said she was mad. Taking offence at this, she threw three of the books into the fire, and demanded the sum first asked for the rest. The king refusing, she threw three more of the books into the fire, and still demanded the same sum for the remaining three. At length Tarquin, being astonished beyond measure, was glad to pay the sum for three books for which he could have bought the whole nine. The old woman, who was never seen before nor afterwards, immediately disappeared.” These are the Sibylline books which

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the Romans consult as Divine oracles, through one of the quindecimvirs, and from them the quindecimvirate office is supposed to have had its origin. What else did this Sibylline prophetess teach the proud king by so subtle a device, but that the vases of wisdom, the sacred books, surpass all human estimation ; and as Gregory says of the kingdom of heaven, " Whatsoever you may possess, that is its value ! "

CHAPTER IV.

How much Good arises from Books ; and
that the corrupt Clergy are for the
most part ungrateful to Books.

A PROGENY of vipers destroying its own parents, and the cruel offspring of the most ungrateful cuckow, which, when it hath acquired strength, slays its little nurse, the liberal donor of its power;—such are the degenerate clergy with respect to books. Turn to your hearts, ye prevaricators, and faithfully compute how much you have received from books, and you will find books to have been in a manner the creators of your entire noble estate; without them it would certainly have been deficient of promoters. Hear them speak for themselves. Well then, “When you were altogether ignorant and helpless, you spoke like children, you knew like children; and crying like children you crept towards us, and begged to be participators of our milk. We indeed, moved by your tears, instantly tendered you the paps of Grammar to suck, which you firmly adhered to with tooth and tongue, till your babbling accents were overcome, and you began to utter the mighty acts of God in

our own language. After that we clothed you with the right comely garments of philosophy, dialectics, and rhetoric, which we had, and keep by us; as you were naked, and like tablets for painting upon: for all the inmates of philosophy are doubly clothed, that the nakedness, as well as the rudeness of their understandings may be concealed. Lastly, affixing to you the four wings of the four converging ways, that being winged in a seraphic manner you might soar above the cherubim, we transmitted you to a friend, at whose door, while you yet knocked earnestly, the three loaves of the intelligence of the Trinity, upon which the final happiness of every wayfaring man whatever depends, would be prepared for you. What if you should say, 'You have no such gifts;' we confidently assert that you either lost them, when conferred upon you, through carelessness, or rejected them from the beginning, when offered to you, through indolence. If trifles of this kind are found disagreeable, we will add something more important. You are the elect race, the royal priesthood, the holy tribe and people of the acquisition; you are held to be in the peculiar lot of the Lord, the priests and ministers of God; indeed you may be called by antonomasia the Church itself, inasmuch as laymen cannot be called churchmen. You chant psalms and hymns in the chancel, and serve

at the altar of God, participating with the altar, while the laity are placed behind you. You concoct the true body of Christ, in which God himself hath honoured you, not only above laymen, but even somewhat above his angels; for to which of the angels hath he ever said, 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech'? You dispense the testimony of Christ crucified to the poor. Where is it now sought for amongst the dispensers, so that any faithful man can find it? You are the pastors of the flock of the Lord, as well by the example of your lives as by the words of your doctrine, which is kept by you to distribute the milk and the wool. Who, O clergy, are the liberal bestowers of these gifts? Are they not books? We beg it may please you to remember how many excellent privileges of exemption and freedom have been conceded to the clergy through us. Qualified indeed by us alone, the vessels of wisdom and intellect, you ascend the magisterial chair, and men call you Rabbi. Through us you are admirable in the sight of the laity, as the great luminaries of the world; and you possess the dignities of the church according to your various destinies. Constituted by us at a tender age, while you yet wanted the down upon your chins, you bore the tonsure upon your crowns, bespeaking the formidable state of the church, in the decree, 'Touch not my

anointed, and do my prophets no harm: and whoever rashly toucheth them, his own blow shall instantly recoil upon him with the wound of an anathema.'

"At length, falling into the age of wickedness, arriving at the double way of the pythagoric symbol Y, you choose the left-hand branch, and turning aside cast off the preassumed destination of the Lord, and become companions of thieves; and thus ever progressing to worse, you are defiled by robberies, homicide, and various shameful crimes, your character and conscience being equally corrupted by wickedness. Being called to justice, you are kept bound in manacles and fetters, to be punished by a most ignominious death. Then your friend and neighbour is absent, nor is there any one to pity your fate. Peter swears he never knew the man: the mob cry out to the judge, Crucify him! crucify him! for if you discharge this man you will not be the friend of Cæsar. It is now too late to fly; you must stand before the tribunal; no place of appeal offers itself; nothing but hanging is to be expected. When sorrow and the broken song of lamentation alone shall have thus filled the heart of a wretched man; when his cheeks are watered with tears, and he becomes surrounded with anguish on every side, let him remember us; and that he may avoid the peril of

approaching death, let him display the little token of the antiquated tonsure which we gave him, begging that we may be called in on his behalf, and bear witness to the benefit conferred.

“Then moved by pity we instantly run to meet the prodigal son, and snatch the fugitive servant from the gates of death; the well known book is tendered to be read, and after a slight reading by the criminal, stammering from fear, the power of the judge is dissolved, the accuser is withdrawn, death is put to flight. O wonderful virtue of an empiric verse! O salutary antidote to dire calamity! O precious reading of the psalter, which deserves henceforth from this itself to be called the Book of Life! Laymen must undergo secular punishment; either being sewn up in sacks they may be consigned to Neptune; or planted in the ground may fructify for Pluto; or may offer themselves up by fire, as fattened holocausts to Vulcan; or at all events, being hanged they may be victims to Juno, while our pupil, by a single reading of the Book of Life, is commended to the custody of the pontiff, and rigour is converted into favour. And while the bench is transferred from the layman, death is averted from the clerical nursling of books.

“Let us now speak of those clergy who are the vessels of virtue. Which of you ascends the pulpit

or desk to preach without first consulting us ? Which enters the schools either to lecture, dispute or preach, who is not enlightened by our rays ?

“You must first eat the volume with Ezechiël, that the stomach of your memory may be internally sweetened ; and thus after the manner of the perfumed panther (to the breath of which men, beasts and cattle draw near that they may inhale it), the sweet odour of your aromatic conceptions will be externally redolent. Thus our nature secretly and most intimately working within you, benevolent auditors flock about you, as the magnet attracts iron, by no means unwillingly. What though an infinite multitude of books be deposited in Paris or Athens, do they not likewise speak aloud in Britain and in Rome,—for even being at rest they are moved ; while confining themselves to their proper places, they are everywhere carried about to the understandings of hearers.

“Finally, we establish priests, pontiffs, cardinals, and the pope, that all things in the ecclesiastical hierarchy may be set in order by the knowledge of letters ; for every benefit that arises out of the clerical state has its origin in books. But even now it grieves us to reflect upon what we have given to the degenerate race of clergy, because gifts bestowed upon the ungrateful appear to be rather lost than conferred.

“In the next place, let us stop a little to recite the injuries, indignities and reproaches they repay us with, of which we are not competent to recount all of every kind,—scarcely indeed the first kinds of them all.

“In the first place, we are expelled with heart and hand from the domiciles of the clergy, apporportioned to us by hereditary right, in some interior chamber of which we had our peaceful cells : but, to their shame, in these nefarious times we are altogether banished to suffer opprobrium out of doors ; our places, moreover, are occupied by hounds and hawks, and sometimes by a biped beast ; woman to wit,—whose cohabitation was formerly shunned by the clergy, from whom we have ever taught our pupils to fly, more than from the asp and the basilisk ; wherefore this beast, ever jealous of our studies, and at all times implacable, spying us at last in a corner, protected only by the web of some long deceased spider, drawing her forehead into wrinkles, laughs us to scorn, abuses us in virulent speeches, points us out as the only superfluous furniture lodged in the whole house ; complains that we are useless for any purpose of domestic œconomy whatever, and recommends our being bartered away forthwith for costly head-dresses, cambric, silk, twice-dipped purple garments, woollen, linen, and furs : and

indeed with reason, if she could see the interior of our hearts, or be present at our secret councils, or could read the volumes of Theophrastus and Valerius, or at least hear the 25th Chapter of Ecclesiasticus with the ears of understanding.

“We complain, therefore, because our domiciles are unjustly taken from us,—not that garments are not given to us, but that those which were formerly given are torn off by violent hands, in-somuch that our souls adhere to the pavement, our belly is agglutinated to the earth, and our glory is reduced to dust. (Ps. xlv. & cxix.) We labour under various diseases ; our back and sides ache, we lie down disabled and paralyzed in every limb, nobody thinks of us, nor is there any one who will benignly apply an emollient to our sores. Our native whiteness, perspicuous with light, is now turned tawny and yellow ; so that no medical man who may find us out, can doubt that we are infected with jaundice. Some of us are gouty, as our distorted extremities evidently indicate. The damp, smoke, and dust with which we are constantly infested, dim the field of our visual rays, and superinduce ophthalmia upon our already bleared eyes.

“Our stomachs are destroyed by the severe gripping of our bowels, which greedy worms never cease to gnaw. We suffer corruption inside and

out, and nobody is found to anoint us with turpentine ; or who, calling to us on the fourth day of putrefaction, will say, ‘Lazarus, come forth!’ The cruel wounds atrociously inflicted upon us who are harmless, are not bound up with any bandage, nor does any one apply a plaster to our ulcers. But we are thrown into dark corners, ragged, shivering, and weeping, or with holy Job seated on a dunghill, or (what appears too indecent to be told) we are buried in the abysses of the common sewer. The supporting cushion is drawn from under our evangelical sides, from whose oracles the subsidies of the clergy ought first of all to come, they being deputed to us for their service, and thus the common provision for their maintenance ought for ever to be derived from us.

“Again: we complain of another kind of calamity that is very often unjustly imposed upon our persons ; for we are sold like slaves and female captives, or left as pledges in taverns without redemption. We are given to cruel butchers to be cut up like sheep and cattle ; we do not behold this without pious tears, and where there is death in a thousand forms, we die of fear itself, which is able to overthrow irresolute man. We are turned over to Jews, Saracens, heretics and pagans, whose poison we dread above all things, and by

whose pestiferous venom it is evident some of our forefathers have been corrupted.

“Truly, we who ought to be considered as the master builders in science, who give orders to our subject mechanics, are on the contrary subjected to the government of subalterns : as if a most noble monarch should be trampled upon by rustic heels. Every botcher, cobbler, and tailor whatever, or any artificer of whatever trade, keeps us shut up in prison, for the superfluous and lascivious pleasures of the clergy.

“We will now proceed to a new sort of insult by which we are injured both in our persons and in our fame, than which we possess nothing dearer to us. Our genuineness is every day detracted from, for new names of authors are imposed upon us by worthless compilers, translators, and transformers ; being reproduced in multiplied regeneration, our ancient nobility is changed, and we become altogether degenerate : and thus the names of vile authors are fixed upon us against our will, and the words of the true fathers are filched from them by the sons. A certain pseudo-versifier usurped the verses of Virgil while he was yet living ; and one Fidentinus falsely arrogated to himself the books of Martial the cook, upon whom the said Martial justly retorted in these words :—

Quem recitas meus est, o Fidentine, libellus,
Sed male dum recitas incipit esse tuus.

The book thou recitest, Fidentinus, is mine,
Though from vile recitation it passeth for thine.

“What wonder is it then if clerical apes magnify their margins from the works of authors who are dead; ‘as while they are yet living they endeavour to seize upon their recent editions? Ah, how often do you pretend that we who are old are but just born, and attempt to call us sons, who are fathers? and to call that which brought you into clerical existence, the fabric of your own studies? In truth, we who now pretend to be Romans, are evidently sprung from the Athenians; for Carmentis was ever a pillager of Cadmus: and we who are just born in England shall be born again tomorrow in Paris, and being thence carried on to Bononia, shall be allotted an Italian origin, unsupported by any consanguinity.

“Alas! to how many false transcribers have you committed us to be copied; how corruptly do you read us, and by amending, destroy what in pious zeal you intend to correct. In how many ways do we suffer from barbarous interpreters, who presume to translate us from one language to another, though ignorant of the idioms of either. The propriety of speech being thus taken away, its sense is basely mutilated, and contrary to the

meaning of the author. The condition of books would have been right genuine, if the presumption of the Tower of Babel had not come in its way, and the only preserved form of speech of the whole human race had descended to us.

“We will now subjoin the last of our prolix complaints, but most briefly, in proportion to the matter we have to complain of; for indeed natural use in us is converted into that which is contrary to nature: as for instance, we are given up to painters ignorant of letters; and we who are the light of faithful souls are shamefully consigned to goldsmiths, that we may become repositories for gold leaf, as if we were not the sacred vessels of science. We fall unduly into the power of laymen, which to us is more bitter than any death; for they sell our people without a price, and our enemies become our judges. It is clear from all these premises, what infinite invectives we could have thrown out against the clergy if we had not spared them for our own credit. For the pensioned soldier venerates his shield and arms. Carts, harrows, flails, and spades are grateful to the worn-out plowman Coridon; and every manual artificer exhibits extraordinary care for his own tools. The ungrateful Clerk alone undervalues and neglects those things from which he must ever take the prognostics of his future honour.”

CHAPTER V.

Good Professors of Religion write Books ;
bad ones are occupied with other
things.

THERE used to be an anxious and reverential devotion in the culture of books of religious offices, and the clergy delighted in communing with them as their whole wealth ; for many wrote them out with their own hands in the intervals of the canonical hours, and gave up the time appointed for bodily rest to the fabrication of volumes : those sacred treasuries of whose labours, filled with cherubic letters, are at this day resplendent in most monasteries, to give the knowledge of salvation to students, and a delectable light to the paths of the laity. O happy manual labour above all agricultural cares ! O devout solicitude, from which neither Martha nor Mary would have earned the wages of corruption ! O joyful house, in which the fair Rachael envieth not the prolific Lya, but where contemplation mingles with its own active pleasures ! Happy provision for the future, available to infinite posterity ; to which no planting of trees, no sowing of seeds, no pastoral curiosity about any

sort of cattle, no building of fortified castles is to be compared. Wherefore the memory of those fathers ought to be immortal, whom the treasure of wisdom alone delighted, who most artificially provided luminous lanterns against future darkness, and prepared, against a dearth of hearing the word of God, bread not baked in ashes, nor musty, nor of barley, but unleavened loaves most carefully composed of the purest flour of holy wisdom, with which they fed the souls of the hungry. But these were the most virtuous combatants of the Christian militia, who fortified our infirmity with most powerful arms. They were the most cunning fox-hunters of their times, who have yet left us their snares, that we may catch the little foxes which never cease to demolish the flourishing vines. Truly these mighty fathers are to be remembered with perpetual benedictions. Deservedly happy would you be, if a similar progeny were begotten by you, if it were permitted to you to leave an heir neither degenerate nor doubtful, to be a help in times to come. But now (we say it with sorrow) base Thersites handles the arms of Achilles; the choicest trappings are thrown away upon lazy asses; blinking night-birds lord it in the nests of eagles, and the silly kite sits on the perch of the hawk. Liber Bacchus is respected, and passes daily and nightly into the belly: Liber Codex is rejected far

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and wide out of reach; so that the simple modern people are deceived by a multiplicity of equivocations of every kind; Liber Patera takes precedence of Liber Patrum; (libations, of the lives of the fathers.) The study of the monks nowadays dispenses with emptying bowls, not emending books; to which they neither scruple to add the lascivious music of Timotheus, nor to emulate his shameless manners; and thus the song of merriment, not the plaint of mournfulness, is become the monasterial duty. Flocks and fleeces, crops and barns, gardens and olive-yards, drink and cups, are now the lessons and studies of monks; excepting, of some chosen few, in whom not the image but a slight vestige of their forefathers remains.

Again : none whatever of that matter is administered to us, touching our culture and study, for which the Regular Canons can at this day be commended; who, though they bear the great name of Augustine from the double rule, yet neglect the notable little verse by which we are recommended to his clergy in these words : " Books are to be asked for at certain hours every day; he who demands them out of hours, shall not receive them." This devout canon of study scarcely any one observes after repeating the church service or Horæ; but to be knowing in secular affairs, and to look after the neglected plough, is held to be the height

of prudence. They carry bows and arrows; assume arms and bucklers; distribute the tribute of alms amongst their dogs, not amongst the necessitous; use dice and draughts, and such things as we are accustomed to forbid to secular men;—so that indeed we wonder not that they never deign to look upon us, whom they thus perceive to oppose their immoral practices.

Condescend therefore, reverend fathers, to remember your predecessors, and to indulge more freely in the study of the Sacred Books; without which, all religion whatever will vacillate; without which, as a watering-pot, the virtue of devotion will dry up; and without which, no light will be held up to the world.

CHAPTER VI.

In praise of the ancient, and reprehension of the modern religious Mendicants.

POOR in spirit, but most rich in faith, the off-scourings of the world, the salt of the earth, despisers of worldly affairs, and fishers of men! how happy are you if, suffering penury for Christ, you know you possess your souls in suffering! For thus neither the revenger, from lack of injury, nor the adverse fortune of relations, nor any violent necessity, nor hunger oppresses you; if the will is devout and the election christiform, by which you have chosen that best life, which God Almighty made man set forth both by word and example. Truly you are the new birth of the ever procreating Church, recently and divinely substituted for the fathers and prophets, that the sound of your voice may go forth over all the earth; for being instructed in our salutary doctrines, you can promulgate the unassailable doctrine of the faith of Christ to all kings and people. Moreover, our second chapter superabundantly proves the faith of the Fathers to be most amply contained in books; wherefore it most clearly appears that you ought to be zealous lovers of books, who above all other

Christians are commanded to sow upon all waters. For the Most High is no respecter of persons; nor doth the most pious, who was willing to be slain for sinners, wish for the death of sinners, but he desires the broken-hearted to be healed, the fallen to be raised up, and the perverse to be corrected in the spirit of lenity. For which most salutary purpose, our fostering mother Church gratuitously planted you; being planted, she watered you with favours; and being watered, propped you with privileges that you might be coadjutors to pastors and curates in procuring the salvation of faithful souls. Whence also, as their Constitutions declare, the order of Preachers was principally instituted for the study of Holy Writ and for the salvation of their neighbours; as not only from the rule of their founder Augustine, who ordered books to be sought for every day, but immediately upon reading the preface of the said Constitutions, at the beginning of his own volume, they know the love of books to be an obligation imposed upon them. But, to their shame, both these and others following their example are withdrawn from the study and paternal care of books by a threefold superfluous care; namely, of their bellies, clothing, and houses. For, neglecting the providence of our Saviour, whom the Psalmist premises to be solicitous about the poor and men;

dicant, they are occupied about the wants of their perishable bodies,—such as splendid banquets, delicate garments contrary to their rule, and even piles of buildings like the bulwarks of fortifications, raised to a height little consistent with the profession of poverty. For the sake of these three things, We their books, who have ever advanced them to preferment and conceded the seat of honour to them amongst the powerful and noble, are estranged from the affections of their hearts and looked upon as useless lumber, excepting that they make some account of certain tracts of little value, from which they produce mongrel trifles and apocryphal ravings, not for the refreshment of hungry souls, but rather to tickle the ears of their auditors.

The Holy Scriptures are not expounded, but exploded as trite sayings supposed to be already divulged in the streets and to all men, whose margins however very few have touched, whose profundity is even so great that it cannot be comprehended by human intellect, however vigilant it may be, at its utmost leisure and with the greatest study. He who constantly studies these, will be able to pick out the thousand maxims of moral discipline which they enforce with the most perfect novelty, refreshing the understandings of their hearers with the most soothing

suavity, if he who founded the spirit of piety will only deign to open the door. For which reason the first professors of evangelical poverty, taking leave of every secular science whatever, gathering together the whole force of their minds, devoted themselves to the labours of these holy writings, meditating daily and nightly on the law of the Lord. Whatsoever they could steal from their famishing stomachs or tear from their half-covered bodies, they applied to emending or editing books, esteeming them their greatest gain ; their secular contemporaries, holding both their office and studies in respect, having conferred such books upon them as they had collected at great cost, here and there in divers parts of the world, to the edification of the whole Church.

Truly in these days, when with all diligence you are intent upon lucre, it might be believed with probable presumption, according to anthropospathos (if the word may be allowed) or human feeling, that God entertains little anxiety about those whom he considers to distrust his promises, placing their hopes upon human foresight, neither considering the crow nor the lily which the Most High feeds and clothes. You ponder not upon Daniel, nor Abacuc the bearer of the dish of boiled pottage, nor remember Elijah fed by angels in the desert, again by crows at the brook, and, lastly, by

the widow at Sarepta, relieved from the cravings of hunger by the divine bounty, which gives food to all flesh in due season. You are descending, we fear, by a wretched ladder, while a reliance upon self-sufficiency produces distrust of divine piety, but reliance upon self-sufficiency begets solicitude about worldly affairs, and too much solicitude about worldly affairs takes away the love of books and study, and thus poverty now gives way through abuse, at the expense of the word of God, though you chose it only for its support. You draw boys into your religion with hooks of apples as the people commonly report, whom having professed, you do not instruct in doctrines by compulsion and fear as their age requires, but maintain them to go upon beggarly excursions, and suffer them to consume the time in which they might learn, in catching at the favours of their friends, to the offence of their parents, the danger of the boys, and the detriment of the Order. And thus without doubt it happens that unwilling boys, in no way compelled to learn, when grown up presume to teach, being altogether worthless and ignorant. A small error in the beginning becomes a very great one in the end ; for thus also a certain and generally burthensome multitude of laymen grows up in your promiscuous flock, who however thrust themselves into

the office of preaching the more impudently the less they understand what they talk about, in contempt of the word of the Lord and to the ruin of souls. Verily you plough with the ox and the ass contrary to the Law, when you commit the culture of the Lord's field to the learned and unlearned without distinction. It is written, Oxen plough, and asses feed by them ; because it is the business of the discreet to preach, but of the simple to feed themselves in silence by hearing sacred eloquence. How many stones do you throw upon the heap of Mercury in these days? how many marriages do you procure for the eunuchs of wisdom? how many blind speculators do you teach to go about upon the walls of the church ?

O slothful fishermen, who only use other men's nets, which you have hardly skill to mend if broken, and none whatever to weave anew ! you intrude upon the labours of others, recite their compositions, repeat their wisdom by rote, and mouth it with theatrical rant. As the stupid parrot imitates the words it hears, so such as you become reciters of everything, authors of nothing, imitating Balaam's ass, which, though naturally insensible of language, yet by her eloquent tongue was made the schoolmistress both of a master and a prophet.

Repent, ye paupers of Christ, and studiously

revert to us your books, without whom you will never be able to put on your shoes in advancement of the Gospel of peace. Paul the apostle, preacher of the truth and first teacher of the Gentiles, ordered these three things to be brought to him by Timothy instead of all his furniture,—his cloak, books and parchment (2 Tim.) ; exhibiting a formulary to evangelical men, that they may wear the habit ordained, have books to aid them in studying, and parchment for writing, which the apostle lays most stress upon, saying, “but especially the parchments.” Truly that clergyman is maimed, and indeed basely mutilated, to the wreck of many things, who is totally ignorant of the art of writing : he beats the air with his voice ; he edifies only the present, and provides nothing for the absent or for posterity. “A man carried the inkhorn of a writer at his loins, who set the mark T upon the foreheads of those who sighed,” figuratively insinuating that if any man is deficient in the skill of writing he must not take upon himself the office of preaching penitence.

Finally, in closing the present chapter, your books, administering the needful, supplicate you to turn the attention of ignorant youths of apt wit to their studies, that you may not only truly teach them truth, discipline and knowledge, but terrify them with the rod, attract them with blan-

dishments, soothe them with presents, and urge them with penal severities, that they may at once be made Socratics in morals and Peripatetics in doctrine.

Yesterday, as it were at the eleventh hour, the discreet landlord introduced you into the vineyard; repent therefore of being idle before it is altogether too late. Would that with the prudent steward you would be ashamed of begging so dishonourably! for then without doubt you would have leisure for us your books, and for study.

CHAPTER VII.

Deploring the Destruction of Books by
Wars and Fire.

O most high author and lover of peace ! scatter the nations that are desirous of war, more injurious to books than all other plagues ; for war, wanting the discretion of reason, furiously attacks whatever falls in its way, and, not being under the guidance of reason, it destroys the vessels of reason, having no scale of discretion. Then the wise Apollo is subjected to Pluto, the prolific mother Phronesis becomes Phrenesis, and is submitted to the power of Frenzy. Then the winged Pegasus is shut up in the stable of Corydon, and the eloquent Mercury is choked. The prudent Pallas is pierced by the dart of error, and the jocund Pierides are suppressed by the truculent tyranny of fury. O cruel sight ! where Aristotle the Phœbus of philosophers, to whom the lord of the domain himself committed the dominion over all things, is seen bound by impious hands, fettered with infamous chains, and carried off from the house of Socrates upon the shoulders of gladiators ; and him who deserved to obtain the magistracy in the government of the world, and the empire over

its emperor, you may see subjected to a vile scoffer, by the most unjust rights of war.

O most iniquitous power of darkness ! that feared not to trample upon the approved divinity of Plato, who alone in the sight of the Creator was worthy to interpose ideal forms, before he could appease the strife of jarring chaos, and before he could invest matter with permanent form ; that he might demonstrate the archetype world from its author, and that the sensible world might be deduced from its supernal prototype.

O sorrowful sight ! where the moral Socrates, whose acts are virtue, and whose words are doctrine, who produced justness of policy from the principles of nature, is seen devoted to the service of a depraved undertaker. We lament Pythagoras the parent of harmony, atrociously scourged by furious female singers, uttering plaintive groans instead of songs. We pity Zeno the chief of the Stoics, who, rather than divulge a secret, bit off his tongue, and boldly spat it in the face of a tyrant. Alas, now again, for the bruised Anaxarchus pounded in a mortar by Nicocreon. Certainly, we are not competent to lament with befitting sorrow each of the books which has perished in various parts of the world by the hazards of war. We may however record with a tearful pen the horrible havock that hap-

pened through the auxiliary soldiers in the second Alexandrine war in Egypt, where 700,000 volumes, collected by the Ptolemies kings of Egypt during a long course of time, were consumed by fire, as Aulus Gellius relates, *Attic Nights*, B. 6. c. 17. What an Atlantic progeny is supposed to have then perished ! comprehending the motions of the spheres, all the conjunctions of the planets, the nature and generation of the galaxy, the prognostications of comets, and whatsoever things are done in heaven or in the air. Who is not horrified by such an evil-omened holocaust, in which ink is offered up instead of blood, where glowing sparks spring from the blood of crackling parchment ? where voracious flames consume so many thousands of innocents in whose mouths no falsehood is found ; where fire that knows not when to spare, converts so many shrines of eternal truth into fetid ashes. The pious virgin daughters of Jephtah and Agamemnon, murdered for the glory of their fathers, may be thought victims of a minor crime. How many labours of the celebrated Hercules, who, for his skill in astronomy, is described as having supported the heavens upon his shoulders, may we imagine to have perished, when he was now for the second time thrown into the flames ! The secrets of heaven, that Inachus neither learned from man nor by

human means, but received by divine inspiration; whatsoever his half-brother Zoroaster, the servant of unclean spirits, disseminated amongst the bramins; whatsoever holy Enoch, the governor of Paradise, prophesied before he was transferred from the world; yea, whatsoever the first Adam taught his sons, as he had previously seen it in the book of eternity, when rapt in an ecstasy,—may with probability be thought to have been destroyed by those impious flames. The religion of the Egyptians, which the book called Logistoricus so highly commends; the polity of the ancient Athenians, who preceded the Athenians of Greece 9000 years; the verses of the Chaldeans; the astronomy of the Arabs and Indians; the ceremonies of the Jews; the architecture of the Babylonians; the Georgics of Noah; the divinations of Moses; the trigonometry of Joshua; the enigmas of Sampson; the problems of Solomon, most clearly argued from the cedar of Lebanon to the hyssop; the antidotes of Esculapius; the grammatics of Cadmus; the poems of Parnassus; the Oracles of Apollo; the Argonautics of Jason; the stratagems of Palamedes; and an infinity of other secrets of science,—are believed to have been lost in like manner by fires.

Would the demonstrative syllogism of the quadrature of the circle have been concealed from

Aristotle, if wicked wars had permitted the books of the ancients, containing the methods of the whole of nature, to be forthcoming? or would he have left the problem of the eternity of the world undecided, or have at all doubted about the plurality of human intellects, and of their perpetuity, as he is with some reason believed to have done, if the perfect sciences of the ancients had not been exposed to the pressure of odious wars? For by wars we are dispersed in foreign countries, dismembered, wounded, and enormously mutilated, buried in the earth, drowned in the sea, burned in the fire, and slain by every species of violent slaughter. How much of our blood did the warlike Scipio shed, when earnestly bent upon the overthrow of Carthage, the emulous assailant of the Roman empire! How many thousands of thousands did the ten years Trojan war send out of the world! How many, upon the murder of Tully by Anthony, went into the recesses of remote provinces! How many of us, when Boetius was banished by Theodorick, were dispersed into the various regions of the world like sheep whose shepherd is slain! How many, when Seneca fell by the malice of Nero, and willingly or unwillingly went towards the gates of death, withdrew weeping, and not knowing where we ought to take up our abode, when separated

from him. Fortunate was that transfer of books which Xerxes is described to have made from the Athenians to the Persians, and which Zeleucus brought back from the Persians to Athens. O, what becoming pride, what admirable exultation might you behold, when the mother, leaping for joy, met her children, and the bride-chamber of the now aged parent was once more pointed out to her offspring as the lodging assigned to its former tenants ! Now cedar shelves with light beams and supporters are most neatly planed, labels are designed in gold and ivory for each partition, in which the volumes themselves are reverently deposited and most nicely arranged, so that no one can impede the entrance of another, or injure its brother by over pressure.

In all other respects, indeed, the damages which are brought on by the tumults of war, especially upon the race of books, are infinite ; and forasmuch also as it is a property of the infinite, that it can neither be stepped over nor passed through, we will here finally set up the pillars of our complaints, and, drawing in our reins, return to the prayers with which we set out, suppliantly beseeching the ruler of Olympus and the most high Dispenser of all the world, that he may abolish war, establish peace, and bring about tranquil times under his own special protection.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Of the numerous Opportunities of the
Author of collecting Books from all
quarters.

As there is a time and opportunity for every purpose, as Ecclesiastes witnesseth, (ch. iii.) we will now proceed to particularize the numerous opportunities we have enjoyed, under divine propitiation, in our proposed acquisition of books. For, although from our youth we have ever been delighted to hold special and social communion with literary men and lovers of books, yet prosperity attending us, having obtained the notice of His Majesty the King, and being received into his own family, we acquired a most ample facility of visiting at pleasure and of hunting as it were some of the most delightful covers, the public and private libraries both of the regulars and seculars.—Indeed, while we performed the duties of Chancellor and Treasurer of the most invincible and ever magnificently triumphant King of England, Edward III. (of that name) after the Conquest, whose days may the Most High long and tranquilly deign to preserve! after first inquiring into the things that concerned his Court, and then

the public affairs of his kingdom, an easy opening was afforded us, under the countenance of royal favour, for freely searching the hiding places of books. For the flying fame of our love had already spread in all directions, and it was reported not only that we had a longing desire for books and especially for old ones, but that anybody could more easily obtain our favour by quartos than by money. Wherefore when supported by the bounty of the aforesaid prince of worthy memory, we were enabled to oppose or advance, to appoint or discharge ; crazy quartos and tottering folios, precious however in our sight as well as in our affections, flowed in most rapidly from the great and the small, instead of new year's gifts and remunerations, and instead of presents and jewels. Then the cabinets of the most noble monasteries were opened ; cases were unlocked ; caskets were unclasped, and astonished volumes which had slumbered for long ages in their sepulchres were roused up, and those that lay hid in dark places were overwhelmed with the rays of a new light. Books heretofore most delicate, now become corrupted and abominable, lay lifeless, covered indeed with the excrements of mice and pierced through with the gnawing of worms ; and those that were formerly clothed with purple and fine linen, were now seen reposing in dust and

ashes, given over to oblivion, the abodes of moths. Amongst these nevertheless, as time served, we sat down more voluptuously than the delicate physician could do amidst his stores of aromatics ; and where we found an object of love, we found also an assuagement. Thus the sacred vessels of science came into the power of our disposal,—some being given, some sold, and not a few lent for a time.

Without doubt, many who perceived us to be contented with gifts of this kind, studied to contribute those things freely to our use, which they could most willingly do without themselves. We took care, however, to conduct the business of such so favourably, that the profit might accrue to them ; justice therefore suffered no detriment.

Moreover, if we would have amassed cups of gold and silver, excellent horses, or no mean sums of money, we could in those days have laid up abundance of wealth for ourselves : but indeed we wished for books, not bags ; we delighted more in folios than florins, and preferred paltry pamphlets to pampered palfreys. In addition to this, we were charged with the frequent embassies of the said Prince of everlasting memory, and, owing to the multiplicity of state affairs, were sent first to the Roman Chair, then to the Court of France, then to various other kingdoms of the world, on

tedious embassies and in perilous times, carrying about with us, however, that fondness for books which many waters could not extinguish; for this, like a certain drug, sweetened the wormwood of peregrination; this, after the perplexing intricacies, scrupulous circumlocutions of debate, and almost inextricable labyrinths of public business, left an opening for a little while to breathe the temperature of a milder atmosphere. O blessed God of gods in Sion! what a rush of the flood of pleasure rejoiced our heart as often as we visited Paris, the Paradise of the world! There we longed to remain, where, on account of the greatness of our love, the days ever appeared to us to be few. There are delightful libraries in cells redolent of aromatics; there flourishing greenhouses of all sorts of volumes; there academic meads trembling with the earthquake of Athenian Peripatetics pacing up and down; there the promontories of Parnassus, and the porticos of the Stoicks. There is to be seen Aristotle the surveyor of arts and sciences, to whom alone belongs all that is most excellent in doctrine in this transitory world. There Ptolemy extends cycles and eccentrics; and Gensachar plans out the figures and numbers of the planets. There Paul reveals his Arcana; and Dionysius arranges and distinguishes the hierarchies. There whatsoever Cadmus the Phœnician collected of grammatics,

the virgin Carmentis represents entire in the Latin character. There in very deed, with an open treasury and untied purse strings, we scattered money with a light heart, and redeemed inestimable books with dirt and dust. Every buyer is apt to boast of his great bargains ; but consider, how good, how agreeable it is to collect the arms of the clerical militia into one pile, that it may afford us the means of resisting the attacks of hereticks if they rise against us. Furthermore, we are conscious of having seized the greatest opportunity in this,—namely, that from an early age, bound by no matter what partial favour, we attached ourselves with most exquisite solicitude to the society of masters, scholars, and professors of various arts, whom perspicacity of wit and celebrity in learning had rendered most conspicuous ; encouraged by whose consolatory conversation, we were most deliciously nourished, sometimes with explanatory investigation of arguments, at others with recitations of treatises on the progress of physicks, and of the Catholic doctors, as it were with multiplied and successive dishes of learning. Such were the comrades we chose in our boyhood ; such we entertained as the inmates of our chambers ; such the companions of our journeys ; such the messmates of our board, and such entirely our associates in all our fortunes.

But as no happiness is permitted to be of long duration, we were sometimes deprived of the personal presence of some of these luminaries, when, Justice looking down upon them from heaven, well earned ecclesiastical promotions and dignities fell in their way; whence it came to pass, as it should do, that, being incumbents of their own cures, they were compelled to absent themselves from our courtesies.

Again. We will add a most compendious way by which a great multitude of books, as well old as new, came into our hands. Never indeed having disdained the poverty of religious devotees, assumed for Christ, we never held them in abhorrence, but admitted them from all parts of the world into the kind embraces of our compassion; we allured them with most familiar affability into a devotion to our person, and, having allured, cherished them for the love of God with munificent liberality, as if we were the common benefactor of them all, but nevertheless with a certain propriety of patronage, that we might not appear to have given preference to any,—to these under all circumstances we became a refuge; to these we never closed the bosom of our favour. Wherefore we deserved to have those as the most peculiar and zealous promoters of our wishes, as well by their personal as their mental labours, who, going

about by sea and land, surveying the whole compass of the earth, and also inquiring into the general studies of the Universities of the various provinces, were anxious to administer to our wants, under a most certain hope of reward.

Amongst so many of the keenest hunters, what leveret could lie hid? What fry could evade the hook, the net, or the trawl of these men? From the body of divine law, down to the latest controversial tract of the day, nothing could escape the notice of these scrutinizers. If a devout sermon resounded at the fount of Christian Faith, the most holy Roman Court, or if an extraneous question were to be sifted on account of some new pretext; if the dullness of Paris, which now attends more to studying antiquities than to subtly producing truth; if English perspicacity overspread with ancient lights always emitted new rays of truth,—whatsoever it promulgated, either for the increase of knowledge or in declaration of the faith,—this, while recent, was poured into our ears, not mystified by imperfect narration nor corrupted by absurdity, but from the press of the purest presser it passed, dregless, into the vat of our memory. When indeed we happened to turn aside to the towns and places where the aforesaid paupers had convents, we were not slack in visiting their chests and other repositories of

books ; for there, amidst the deepest poverty, we found the most exalted riches treasured up ; there, in their satchels and baskets, we discovered not only the crumbs that fell from the master's table for the little dogs, but indeed the show bread without leaven, the bread of angels, containing in itself all that is delectable,—yea the granaries of Joseph full of corn and all the furniture of Egypt, and the richest gifts that the Queen of Sheba brought to Solomon. These are the ants that lay up in harvest, the laborious bees that are continually fabricating cells of honey ; the successors of Belzaleel, in devising whatsoever can be made by the workman in gold, silver and precious stones, with which the Temple of the church may be decorated ; these, the ingenious embroiders who make the ephod and breastplate of the Pontiff, as also the various garments of the priests. These keep in repair the curtains, cloths, and red ram skins with which the Tabernacle of the church militant is covered over. These are the husbandmen that sow ; the oxen that tread out the corn ; the blowers of the trumpets ; the twinkling Pleiades, and the stars remaining in their order, which cease not to fight against Sisera. And that truth may be honoured (saving the opinion of any man), although these may have lately entered the Lord's vineyard at the eleventh hour, as

our most beloved books anxiously alleged in the 6th Chapter, they have nevertheless in that shortest hour trained more layers of the sacred books, than all the rest of the vinedressers, following the footsteps of Paul, who, being the last in vocation but the first in preaching, most widely spread the Gospel of Christ. Amongst these we had some of two of the orders, namely, Preachers and Minors, who were raised to the pontifical state, who had stood at our elbows, and been the guests of our family; men in every way distinguished as well by their morals as by their learning, and who had applied themselves with unwearied industry to the correction, explanation, indexing and compilation of various volumes.

Indeed, although we had obtained abundance both of old and new works through an extensive communication with all the religious orders, yet we must in justice extol the Preachers with a special commendation in this respect; for we found them above all other religious devotees ungrudging of their most acceptable communications, and overflowing with a certain divine liberality; we experienced them, not to be selfish hoarders, but meet professors of enlightened knowledge. Besides all the opportunities already touched upon, we easily acquired the notice of the stationers and librarians, not only within the provinces of our

native soil, but of those dispersed over the kingdoms of France, Germany, and Italy, by the prevailing power of money ; no distance whatever impeded, no fury of the sea deterred them ; nor was cash wanting for their expenses when they sent or brought us the wished for books ; for they knew to a certainty that their hopes reposed in our bosom could not be disappointed, but ample redemption with interest was secure with us. Lastly, our common captivatrix of the love of all men (money) did not neglect the rectors of country schools nor the pedagogues of clownish boys ; but rather, when we had leisure to enter their little gardens and paddocks, we culled redolent flowers upon the surface, and dug up neglected roots (not however useless to the studious,) and such coarse digests of barbarism as with the gift of eloquence might be made sanative to the pectoral arteries. Amongst productions of this kind we found many most worthy of renovation, which when the foul rust was skilfully polished off and the mask of old age removed, deserved to be once more remodelled into comely countenances, and which, we having applied a sufficiency of the needful means, resuscitated for an exemplar of future resurrection, having in some measure restored them to renewed soundness.—Moreover, there was always about us in our halls no small assemblage of antiqua-

ries, scribes, bookbinders, correctors, illuminators, and generally of all such persons as were qualified to labour advantageously in the service of books.

To conclude. All of either sex of every degree, estate or dignity, whose pursuits were in any way connected with books, could with a knock most easily open the door of our heart, and find a convenient reposing place in our bosom. We so admitted all who brought books, that neither the multitude of first-comers could produce a fastidiousness of the last, nor the benefit conferred yesterday be prejudicial to that of today. Wherefore, as we were continually resorted to by all the aforesaid persons as to a sort of adamant attractive of books, the desired accession of the vessels of science, and a multifarious flight of the best volumes were made to us.—And this is what we undertook to relate at large in the present Chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

**The ancient Students surpassed the modern
in Fervency of Learning.**

ALTHOUGH the novelties of the moderns were never the burthen of our desires, we have always with grateful affection honoured those who found leisure for the studies and opinions of the primitive fathers, and ingeniously or usefully added anything to them. We have nevertheless coveted with a more undisturbed desire, the well digested labours of the ancients. Whether they were naturally invigorated with the capacity of a more perspicacious mind, whether they addicted themselves perhaps to more intense study, or whether they succeeded by the support of both these aids, we have clearly discovered this one thing,—that their successors are scarcely competent to discuss the discoveries of those who preceded them, or to comprehend those things by the shorter way of instruction which the ancients quarried up by their own roundabout contrivances.

For as we read that they possessed a more excellent proportion of body than what modern times are known to exhibit, so there is no absurdity in believing that most of the ancients were more re-

fulgent in the clearness of their understandings, as the works they performed, by both appear alike unattainable by their successors. Whence Phocas in the prologue of his Grammar writes

Omnia cum veterum, sint explorata, libellis
Multa loqui breviter, sit novitatis opus.

As in the books of the ancients all things have been explored, Novelty is requisite much in few words to afford.

For certainly if the question is about ardour in learning and diligence in study, these devoted their whole life entirely to philosophy; but the contemporaries of our age negligently apply a few years of ardent youth, burning by turns with the fire of vice; and when they have attained the acumen of discerning a doubtful truth, they immediately become involved in extraneous business, retire, and say farewell to the schools of philosophy; they sip the frothy must of juvenile wit over the difficulties of philosophy, and pour out the purified old wine with economical care.

Further, as Ovid justly laments, *De Vetula*,

Omnes declinant ad ea quæ lucra ministrant,
Utque sciant, discunt pauci; plures ut abundant.
Sic te prostituunt, O virgo Scientia, sic te
Venalem faciunt, castis amplexibus aptam,
Non te propter te quærentes, sed lucra pro te:
Ditarique volunt potius quam philosophari.

All men incline to things affording gain;
Few study wisdom, more for riches strain;

Thee they prostitute, O virgin Science;
Thee venal make, whose chaste compliance
None for thy own sake ask. Man rather tries
Through thee to thrive, than to philosophize.

And thus as the love of wisdom is doomed to exile, the love of money rules, which is evidently the most violent poison of discipline. In what manner indeed the ancients set no other limit to their studies than that of their life, Valerius Maximus shows to Tiberius by the examples of many: lib. 8. cap. 7. Carneades (he says) was a laborious and constant soldier of science; for having completed his ninetieth year, that same was the end of his living and philosophizing. Socrates during his ninety-fourth year wrote a most noble book. Sophocles being nearly one hundred years old wrote his *Œdipodæon*, that is, the Book of the Acts of *Œdipus*. Simonides wrote verses in his eightieth year. Aulus Gellius wished to live no longer than while he was competent to write, as he testifies in the prologue of his *Attic Nights*. But the philosopher Taurus, in order to excite young people to study, used to adduce the fervour of study that possessed Euclid the Socratick, as Aulus Gellius relates in his aforesaid volume, lib. 6. cap. 10. For as the Athenians hated the Megarenses, they decreed that if any one of them should enter Athens he should be beheaded; but

Euclid, who was a Megarensian, and had heard Socrates before that decree, went afterwards to hear him in the night disguised as a woman and returned, the distance from Megara to Athens being twenty miles. Imprudent and excessive was the fervour of Archimedes, a lover of the geometric art, who would neither tell his name, nor raise his head from a figure he had drawn, by doing which he might have prolonged the fate of his mortal life; but thinking more of his study than his life, he imbrued his favourite figure with his vital blood. There are many more examples of the same sort to our purpose, which the brevity we affect does not permit us to detail. But with sorrow we say, that the celebrated clerks of these days fall into a very different course. Labouring, indeed, under ambition at an early age, fitting Icarian wings upon their feeble and untried arms, they immaturely seize upon the magisterial cap, and become worthless puerile professors of many faculties, which they by no means pass through step by step, but ascend to by leaps, after the manner of goats; and when they have tasted a little of the great stream, they think they have drunk it to the bottom, their mouths being scarcely wetted. They raise up a ruinous edifice upon an unstable foundation, because they were not founded in the first rudiments at the proper time: being now promoted,

they are ashamed to learn what it would have become them to have learnt when younger, and thus in effect they are perpetually compelled to pay the penalty of having too hastily leaped into undue authority. For these and other similar causes scholastic tyros do not obtain, by their scanty lucubrations, that soundness of learning that the ancients possessed, inasmuch as they can now be endowed with honours, distinguished by names, authorized by the garb of office, and solemnly placed in the chairs of their seniors, as soon as they have crept out of their cradles, been hastily weaned, and can repeat the rules of Priscian and Donatus by rote. In their teens and beardless, they re-echo with infantine prattle the *Categories* and *Parmenias*, in the writing of which the great Aristotle is feigned to have dipped his pen in his heart's blood. Passing the routine of which faculties, with dangerous brevity and a baneful diploma, they lay violent hands upon holy Moses; and sprinkling their faces with the dark waters of the clouds of the air, they prepare their heads, unadorned by any of the greyness of old age, for the mitre of the Pontificate. By such pernicious steps are these pests put forward, and aided in attaining to that fantastical clerkship. The papal provision is importuned by the seductive entreaties, or rather prayers of cardinals and

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powerful friends which cannot be rejected, and the cupidity of relations, who, building up Sion upon their own blood, watch for ecclesiastical dignities for their nephews and wards before they are matured by the course of nature or sufficient instruction. Hence not without shame we observe the Parisian Palladium in our woeful times, suffering under the paroxysm we are deploring. There, where zeal was lately hot, it now almost freezes: where the rays of so noble a school formerly gave light to every corner of the earth, there the pen of every scribe is now at rest, the generation of books is no longer propagated, nor is there any one who can attempt to be considered as a new author. They involve their opinions in unskilful language, and are destitute of all logical propriety, excepting, that with furtive vigilance they find out English subtleties, which they manifestly carry off.

The admirable Minerva seems to have made the tour of the nations of mankind, and casually come in contact with them all, from one end of the world to the other, that she might communicate herself to each. We perceive her to have passed through the Indians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, Arabians, and Latins. She next deserted Athenas, and then retired from Rome: and having already given the slip to the Parisians, she has at last happily reached Britain, the most renowned

of islands, or rather the Microcosm, that she may show herself indebted to Greeks and barbarians. From the accomplishment of which miracle it is conjectured by many, that as the Sophia of Gaul is now become lukewarm, so her emasculated militia is become altogether languid.

CHAPTER X.

Science grew to perfection by degrees.

The author provided a Greek and a Hebrew Grammar.

ASSIDUOUSLY searching out the wisdom of the ancients according to the advice of the wise man (Ecc. 39.), who says, "A wise man searches out all the wisdom of the ancients;" we have not led ourselves into that opinion for the purpose of saying that the first founders cleared away all the rudeness of the arts, knowing that the invention of every one has been weighed, in the faithful endeavour to make a small portion of science efficient. But through the careful investigations of many, the symbols being given as it were one by one, the vigorous bodies of the sciences grew up by successive augmentations into the immense copiousness we now behold: for scholars ever melted down the opinions of their masters in renewed furnaces, running off the previously neglected dross till they became choice gold, proved, seven times purged of earth, and unalloyed by any admixture of error or doubt. Even Aristotle, although of gigantic mind, in whom it pleased

Nature to try how great a portion of reason she could admit into mortality, and whom the Most High made but little inferior to the angels, who sucked those wonderful volumes out of his own fingers which the whole world scarcely comprehends, would not have flourished if he had not, with the penetrating eyes of a lynx, looked through the sacred books of the Babylonians, Egyptians, Chaldeans, Persians, and Medes, all which he transferred into his own treasuries in eloquent Greek. Receiving their correct assertions, he polished their asperities, cut off their superfluities, supplied their deficiencies, expunged their errors, and thought it right to return thanks, not only to those who taught truly, but also to those who erred, as their errors point out a way of more easily investigating truth, as he himself clearly shows (2 Metaph.). Thus many lawyers compiled the Pandect, many physicians the Tegni, and Avicenna the canon. Thus Pliny edited that mass of Natural History, and Ptolemy the Almagest: for after this manner it is not difficult to perceive in writers of annals that the last always presupposes a prior, without whom he would in no way have been competent to detail past events. The same thing holds good amongst the authors of science, as no man produced any science whatever alone; for between the more ancient and the

more recent we find intermediates, old, indeed, if compared with our times, but new, if referred to the ground-work of science; and these are held to be the most learned. What would Virgil, the greatest poet of the Latins, have done if he had not at all plundered Theocritus, Lucretius, and Homer, or ploughed with their heifer? What could Horace anyhow have pored over, but Parthenius and Pindar, whose eloquence he could in no way imitate? What Sallust, Tully, Boetius, Macrobius, Lactantius, Martianus, nay, the whole cohort of the Latins in general, if they had not seen the labours of the Athenians or volumes of the Greeks? Jerome, skilled in the treasures of the three languages of Scripture; Ambrose; Augustine, who, however, confessed that he hated Greek literature; and still more, Gregory, who is described as altogether ignorant of it,—would certainly have contributed little to the doctrines of the Church, if they had borrowed nothing from the more learned Greeks; watered by whose rivulets, Rome, as she first generated philosophers after the image of the Greeks, so afterwards in like form she brought forth treatisers of the orthodox faith. The creeds we chant are the sweat of the Greeks, declared in their councils and confirmed by the martyrdom of many. Native dullness, however, as it falls out, gives way to the glory of the Latins; inasmuch as,

if they were less learned in their studies, so they were less wicked in their errors. For instance, the Arrian malice nearly eclipsed the whole Church. The Nestorian profligacy presumed to rave against the Virgin with blasphemous madness; for it would have taken from her the name of Queen as well as the definition Theotocos, Θεοτοκος (divine genatrix), had not the invincible soldier, Cyril, been prepared to attack and extinguish it in single combat. We can neither enumerate the various kinds nor the authors of the heresies of the Greeks; for as they were the primitive cultivators of the most holy faith, so they were also the first sowers of darnel, as already said, and as they are declared to have been in histories worthy of credit. From this they afterwards proceeded to worse; for while they endeavoured to rend the seamless garment of the Lord, they entirely lost the light of philosophical doctrine; and being blind, they will fall into the abyss of new darknesses, unless He, by his hidden power, shall take care of them, whose wisdom numbers cannot measure. But enough of this, for here the power of judging is taken from us. We draw this one conclusion, however, from what has been said; namely, that ignorance of the Greek language is at this day highly injurious to the study of the Latins, without which the dogmas either of the ancient Christians or Gentiles cannot

be comprehended. The same may credibly be supposed of the Arabic in many astronomical treatises, and of the Hebrew in reading the Holy Bible. Clement the Vth providently meets these defects, if prelates would only faithfully observe what is easily ordained. Wherefore we have taken care to provide for our scholars a Hebrew as well as a Greek Grammar, with certain adjuncts, by the help of which studious readers may be instructed in writing, reading, and understanding the said languages, although the hearing alone with the ears can represent propriety of idiom to the mind.

CHAPTER XI.

Laws are, properly speaking, neither Sciences nor Books.

THE lucrative skill adapted to worldly dispensations in the books of positive law, is the more usefully serviceable to the sons of the world, the less it contributes to the sons of light, towards comprehending the mysteries of holy Scripture and the arcane sacraments of the faith, inasmuch as it peculiarly disposes to the friendship of this world, by which man is made the enemy of God, as James witnesseth (iv. 4.). Hence, without doubt, human cupidity produces infinite contentions, which it extends oftener than it extinguishes, by intricate laws that can be turned to either side. Positive law, however, is distinguished as having emanated from lawyers and pious princes to appease such contentions. Truly when the discipline of contraries is one and the same, and the reasoning power is available to opposites, and at the same time human feelings are most prone to mischief, it happens, that the practitioners of this faculty indulge more in protracting litigation than in peace; and quote the law, not according to the

intention of the legislator, but violently twist his words to the purpose of their own machinations.

Wherefore, although the master love of books possessed our mind from childhood, a longing for which we took to instead of a desire for pleasure, yet an appetite for the books of Civilians took little hold of our affections, and we bestowed but little labour and expense on acquiring volumes of that sort. They are nevertheless useful things, like the scorpion in treacle, as Aristotle the sun of doctrine said of logic in the book *De Pomo et Morte*. We have even perceived a certain manifest difference of nature between laws and sciences; as every science is delightful, and desires that, its bowels being inspected, the vitals of its principles may be laid open, the roots of its germination appear; and the emanation of its spring come to light; for thus, from the connate and consistent light of the truth of conclusion from principles, the body itself of science will become entirely lucid without any particle of obscurity. But laws, indeed, as they are certain covenants and human enactments for regulating civil life, or yokes of princes thrown over the horns of their subjects, they refuse to be reduced to the very synderesis of truth and origin of equity, and on that account may be feared to have more of the empire of will in them than of

the judgement of reason : for the same reason it is the opinion of wise men that the causes of laws are for the most part not to be discussed. For many laws acquire strength by custom alone, not from syllogistic necessity, like the arts, as Aristotle, the Phœbus of the school, affirms in the 2nd book of his Politics, where he argues against the policy of Hippodamus, which promised to bestow rewards upon the inventors of new laws, because to abolish old laws and decree new, is to weaken the validity of those that exist; for things which receive stability from custom alone, must necessarily go to ruin by disuse.

From all which it appears sufficiently clear, that as laws are neither arts nor sciences, so neither can law books be properly called books of science or art; nor is this faculty to be numbered amongst the sciences, though by an appropriate word it may be called geology; but books of liberal literature are so useful to Divine Scripture, that the understanding may in vain aspire to a knowledge of it, without their aid

CHAPTER XII.

Of the Utility and Necessity of Grammar.

As we were carefully nurtured in the reading of books, which it was our custom to read or hear daily, we duly considered how much an imperfect knowledge even of a single word may impede the business of the understanding, as the meaning of a proposition, of which any part whatever is unknown, cannot be comprehended. Wherefore, with wonderful perseverance, we ordered the interpretation of exotic words to be noted down. We considered the Orthography, Prosody, Etymology, and Diasynthesis of the ancient grammarians with unyielding curiosity, and we took care to elucidate terms becoming obscure from too great age with suitable descriptions, so that we might prepare a level way for our students. And this is really the whole reason why we have laboured to renovate so many ancient volumes of the grammarians in emended editions ; that we might so pave the king's highway with them, that our future scholars might walk towards any of the arts whatever without stumbling.

CHAPTER XIII.

A Vindication of Poetry, and its Utility.

THE missiles of all sorts, which lovers of naked truth only, cast at Poets, may be warded off by a twofold shield; because either a graceful turn of language is to be learned, where the subject is impure, or natural or historical truth may be traced where feigned but honest sentiments are treated of under the eloquence of typical fiction. Although all men certainly desire to know, yet all do not equally like to learn. Wherefore, feeling the labour of study, and finding it to fatigue the senses, most of them inconsiderately throw away the nut before they have broken the shell and got at the kernel: for there is a twofold innate love in mankind; namely, of self-liberty in conduct, and of a certain portion of pleasure in labour; whence no man submits himself to the rule of another without cause, or undertakes any labour whatever, that is tiresome, of his own free will; for cheerfulness perfects labour as beauty does youth, as Aristotle most truly affirms (10 *Nic. Eth.*) Wherefore the prudence of the ancients discovered a remedy by which the wanton part of mankind might, in a manner, be taken in

by a pious fraud, and the delicate Minerva lie hid under the dissembling mask of pleasure.

We are accustomed to allure children with gifts, to make them willing to learn those things freely which we mean them to apply to, even if unwilling ; for does not corrupt nature impell itself by the same instinct by which, being prone to vice, it transmigrates to virtue ? This, Horace declares to us in a short verse, where he treats of the art of Poetry, saying :

Aut prodesse volunt, aut delectare poetæ.

Poets would improve or delight mankind.

And the same thing in another of his verses, writing,

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.

He carries every point who mixes the useful with the delightful.

How many scholars has the Helleflight of Euclid repelled, as if it were a high and steep cliff that could not be scaled by the help of any ladder ! This is crabbed language, say they, and who can listen to it ? That son of inconstancy, who at last wished to be transformed into an ass, would perhaps never have rejected the study of philosophy if it had familiarly fallen in his way, covered with this same veil of pleasure ; but being suddenly stupified at the chair of Crato, and thunder-

struck as it were by his infinite questions, he saw no safety whatever but in flight. We have adduced this much in exculpation of poets, and will now show, that those who study them with a proper intention are blameless. Ignorance indeed of a single word impedes the understanding of the most important sentences, as assumed in the preceding chapter. As the sayings therefore of the sacred poets frequently allude to fictions, it necessarily follows, that the poem introduced being unknown, the whole meaning of the author is entirely obstructed ; and certainly, as Cassiodorus says, in his book upon the Institution of divine Literature, those things are not to be thought small, without which great ones cannot subsist. It holds good, therefore, that, being ignorant of poetry, we cannot understand Jerome, Augustine, Boetius, Lactantius, Sidonius, and many others, whose joyful songs a long chapter would not contain. But venerable Bede has in a lucid discussion settled the point of this sort of doubtfulness, as the great compiler Gratian, the repeater of many authors, recites, who, as he was niggardly in the matter, so he is found to be confused in the manner of his compilation. He writes, in Distinction 37, beginning, *Turbat acumen* : “ Some read secular literature for pleasure, being delighted with the fictions of poets, and the ornament of their

words ; but others study them for erudition, that, by reading the errors of the Gentiles, they may detest them, and that they may devoutly carry off what they find in them useful for the service of sacred erudition : such as these, study secular literature laudably."—Thus far Bede.

Admonished by this salutary instruction, let the detractors of poetical students be silent for the present ; nor should ignorant people of this sort wish for fellow-ignoramus, for this is like the solace of the miserable. Let every man therefore confine himself to the feelings of a pious intention ; he may thus make his study grateful to God from any materials whatever, the circumstances of virtue being observed. And if he should become a poet, as the great Maro confesses himself to have done by the help of Ennius, he has not lost his labour.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of those who ought most particularly to
love Books.

To him who recollects what has been said, it is evident and perspicuous who ought to be the greatest lovers of books. For who stand most in need of wisdom, in fulfilling the duties of their calling usefully? Those, without doubt, who are most firmly bound to exhibit the most ready and anxious affection of a grateful heart for the sacred vessels of wisdom. But as Aristotle, the Phœbus of philosophers, who is neither mistaken nor to be mistaken in human affairs, says in the proem of his *Metaphysics*: "It is the business of a wise man to regulate both himself and others properly." Wherefore princes and prelates, judges and teachers, and all other directors of public affairs whatever, as they have need of wisdom beyond other men, so they ought to be zealous beyond other men about the vessels of wisdom. Boetius indeed emblematically represented Philosophy holding a sceptre in her left hand, and a book in her right; by which it is evidently shown to all men, that no one can duly govern a state without books. You, says Boetius, addressing

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himself to Philosophy, sanctioned this axiom by the mouth of Plato,—“That states would be happy, if those who studied wisdom ruled them, or if it could happen that wisdom had the appointment of their rulers.” Again, the bearing of the emblem itself insinuates this to us—that in as much as the right hand excels the left, in so much a contemplative life is more worthy than an active; and at the same time it is shown to be the business of a wise man, first to employ himself in the study of truth, and then in the dispensation of temporal affairs, each in its turn. We read that Philip devoutly returned thanks to the Gods, because they had granted to Alexander to be born in the days of Aristotle, educated under whose tuition he might be worthy to govern his paternal kingdom. As Phaeton, become the driver of his father’s chariot, was ignorant of its management, and unfortunately administered the heat of Phœbus sometimes at too near and sometimes at too remote a distance, he justly deserved to be struck with thunder for his unsteady driving, and that all below might not be put in peril. The histories both of the Greeks and Latins relate that there were no noble princes amongst them, who were unskilled in literature. The sacred Mosaic Law, prescribing a rule for a king by which he must reign, commands him to have the book of Divine

Law written out for himself, according to the copy set forth by the priests, in which he is to read all the days of his life. Truly God himself, who made, and daily and individually fashions the hearts of men, had sufficiently known the slipperiness of human memory, and the instability of virtuous intentions in mankind. For which reason it was his will that there should be a book, an antidote as it were to all evil, of which he ordered the continued reading and use, as the most wholesome daily food of the spirit; by which the understanding, being refreshed and neither enervated nor doubtful, might be altogether fearless in action. This, John of Salisbury elegantly touches upon in his *Pollicraticon*, lib. 4. To conclude: All sorts of men who are distinguished by the tonsure or clerical name, against whom the 4th, 5th, and 6th chapters of this book complained, are bound to render service to books with perpetual veneration.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the manifold Effects of the Sciences
which are contained in Books.

It is beyond the wit of man, however deeply he may have drunk of the Pegasean fountain, perfectly to unfold the title of this present chapter. If any one can speak with the tongues of men and angels; if he can be transformed into Mercury or Tully; if he can charm with the creamy eloquence of Livy; if he can plead with the suavity of Demosthenes,—even he, will allege the hesitation of Moses, or confess with Jeremiah that he is a child, not yet knowing how to speak, or will imitate the echo resounding in the lofty mountains: for the love of books is evidently the love of wisdom, which has been proved to be ineffable. This love is also called by a Greek word, *Philosophy*, whose virtue no created intelligence comprehends, wherefore it is believed to be the mother of everything that is good (*Wisd. vii.*); for like a heavenly dew it extinguishes the heat of carnal vices, when the intense commotion of the animal powers abates the force of natural virtue; by entirely expelling idleness, which being removed, every particle of concupiscence will perish.

Hence Plato says, in *Phædo*, “The philosopher is manifest in this,—that he separates the soul more widely from communion with the body than other men.” Love (says Jerome) the knowledge of the Scriptures, and you will not love the vices of the flesh. The godlike Zenocrates demonstrated this in the firmness of his purpose, whom the noble strumpet Phryne defined to be a statue, and not a man, as no enticement was able to shake his chastity ; as Valerius relates at large, lib. 4. cap. 3. Our Origen is another example ; who, that he might not chance to be effeminated by omnipotent woman, chose the medium between the two sexes by the abneation of his extremities. A spiteful remedy truly—neither consonant to nature nor to virtue, whose business is not to make man insensible of the passions, but to check the first efforts of insubordination by the power of reason. Again : All who are affected by the love of books, hold worldly affairs and money very cheap, as Jerome writes to *Vigilantius* (*Epist.* 54.), “It is not for the same man to ascertain the value of gold coins and of writings” ; which somebody thus repeated in verse :

No tinker's hand shall dare a book to stain ;
No miser's heart can wish a book to gain ;
The gold assayer cannot value books ;
On them the epicure disdainful looks.

One house at once, believe me, cannot hold
Lovers of books and hoarders up of gold.

Nulla libris, erit apta manus ferrugine tinota.
Nec nummata queunt corda vacare libris.
Non est ejusdem nummos librosque probare.
Persequitur libros, grex Epicure tuus.
Nummipetæ cum libricolis nequeunt simul esse,
Ambos, crede mihi, non tenet una domus.

No man therefore can serve mammon and books. The deformities of vice are highly reprobated in books ; so that they are thence said to detest vice in all its forms, who delight in perusing books. The demon who is named after Science, is most easily triumphed over by the knowledge of books ; his numerous versatile frauds, and thousand pernicious meanderings, are laid open to the readers of books, that he may not fraudulently circumvent the innocent, by transforming himself into an angel of light. The divine reverence is revealed to us by books ; the virtues by which it is cultivated are most expressly divulged, and the reward is described which the truth, that neither deceives nor is deceived, promises. The contemplation of divine literature, in which the Creator and the creature are alternately beheld, and which is drawn from the eternal stream of pleasure, is a perfect representation of future beatitude. Faith is founded on the power of letters ; Hope is con-

firmed by the solace of books, as we retain it by patience and the consolation of Scripture ; Charity is not inflated, but edified by the knowledge of true literature ; nay, the Church appears, in the clearest light, to be established upon the Sacred Books. Books are delightful when prosperity happily smiles ; when adversity threatens, they are inseparable comforters. They give strength to human compacts, nor are grave opinions brought forward without books. Arts and sciences, the benefits of which no mind can calculate, depend upon books. How great is the wonderful power arising from books ! for by them we see not only the ends of the world, but of time ; and we contemplate alike things that are, and things that are not, as in a sort of mirror of eternity. In books, we ascend mountains and fathom the depths of the abyss ; we behold varieties of fishes which the common atmosphere can by no means contain in soundness ; we distinguish the peculiarities of rivers and springs, and different countries, in volumes. We dig up the various kinds of metals, gems, and minerals, and substances of all sorts, out of books ; and we learn the virtues of herbs, trees and plants, and behold at leisure the whole offspring of Neptune, Ceres, and Pluto ;—for if we are pleased to visit the inhabitants of heaven, by walking up Taurus, Caucasus, and Olympus, we transcend the kingdoms of Jove, and with lines

and compasses measure the territories of the seven planets, and at last survey the great firmament itself, decorated with signs, degrees and configurations in endless variety.

There we survey the antarctic pole, which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, and with delectable pleasure we admire the luminous way of the Galaxy, and the Zodiac painted with celestial animals. From this we pass on, through books, to separate substances ; and as the intellect greets kindred intelligences with the eye of the mind, it discerns and cleaves to the first cause of all, the immovable mover of infinite power, in love without end. Behold how, being led on by books, we obtain the reward of our beatitude while we are yet wayfarers : what more can we wish for ? Without doubt, as Seneca teaches us in his 84th Letter, beginning Desij,—“Leisure without letters is death, and the sepulture of the living man ”; so we justly conclude, from a converse meaning, that to be employed with literature and books is life.

Again, through books we intimate both to friends and enemies things that we can by no means safely entrust to messengers, inasmuch as access to the chambers of princes is generally conceded to a book, from which the voice of the author would be altogether excluded, as Tertullian says in the beginning of his Apologetics.—When we are kept in prison, in chains, and entirely depri-

ved of bodily liberty, we make use of the embassies of books to our friends, and to them we commit the expediting of our causes, and we transmit them there where access could not be made by ourselves in case of death. By books we remember the past, and in a certain manner prophesy the future, and we fix things present that are vacillating and transient in the memory of writing.

It was a felicitous studiousness and a studious felicity of the powerful eunuch, of whom it is related, in the 8th chapter of Acts, that the love of prophetic reading so vehemently excited him, that he never ceased to read on account of travelling: he had given up the form of Queen Candace to oblivion, had removed the treasures he had the charge of from the care of his heart, and was alike regardless of the road, and of the chariot in which he was carried;—the love of his book alone had claimed this domicile of chastity, disposed by which he was already worthy to enter the gate of the Faith. O gratifying love of books, that by the grace of baptism made this son of Hell and nursing of Tartarus a son of the kingdom of heaven!

Let the impotent pen now cease to consummate the tenor of an infinite undertaking, lest it may seem rashly to encounter what in the beginning was acknowledged to be impossible for any one to accomplish.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of writing new Books and repairing old ones.

As it is necessary for a state to provide military arms, and prepare plentiful stores of provisions for soldiers who are about to fight, so it is evidently worth the labour of the church militant to fortify itself against the attacks of pagans and heretics with a multitude of sound books. But because everything that is serviceable to mortals suffers the waste of mortality through lapse of time, it is necessary for volumes corroded by age to be restored by renovated successors, that perpetuity, repugnant to the nature of the individual, may be conceded to the species. Hence it is that Ecclesiastes significantly says, in the 12th chapter,—“There is no end of making many books.” For as the bodies of books suffer continual detriment from a combined mixture of contraries in their composition, so a remedy is found out by the prudence of clerks, by which a holy book paying the debt of nature may obtain an hereditary substitute, and a seed may be raised up like to the most holy deceased, and that saying of Ecclesiasticus, chapter 30, be verified,—“The

father is dead, and as it were not dead, for he hath left behind him a son like unto himself." The transcribers therefore of old books are as it were a sort of propagators of new sons, to whom that paternal duty has devolved, that the common stock may not be diminished. Transcribers of this sort are justly called antiquaries, whose studies Cassiodorus confessed pleased him most of all the things that are accomplished by bodily labour, thus noticing it in his Institution of divine Letters, cap. 3 :—" Happy science, (he says,) praiseworthy diligence, to unfold language with the fingers, to give salvation to mortals in silence, and to fight against the illicit temptations of the devil with pen and ink !" So far Cassiodorus.

Moreover our Saviour exercised the office of a writer, when stooping down he wrote with his finger on the ground (John viii.), that no man, however noble, may disdain to do that which the wisdom of God the Father is seen to have done. O singular serenity of writing, in the delineation of which the artificer of the world, at whose tremendous name every knee is bent, bowed down ! O venerable invention, singularly above all contrivances made by the hand of man, in which the breast of the Lord was humbly inclined, in which the finger of God was applied to perform the office of a pen !

We do not read that the Son of God sowed or ploughed, or wove or dug, or that any other of the mechanical arts were becoming to the divine wisdom humanized, excepting to trace letters by writing, that every noble man and sciolist may learn that fingers were given to man for the business of writing rather than for fighting. Wherefore we approve of the opinion of many books, which deem a clergyman unskilled in writing to be in a certain manner maimed, as aforesaid in chapter 6. God himself inscribes the just in the book of the living. Moses indeed received stone tables written upon by the finger of God. Job exclaims, "Let him who gives judgement write a book." The trembling Balthasar saw fingers writing on the wall, Mene Techel Phares (Dan. v.). "I," says Jeremiah, "wrote in a volume with ink" (Jer. xxx.). Christ thus commanded his beloved John: "What you see, write in a book" (Apoc. i.). The office of a writer was also enjoined by Isaiah and by Joshua, that the practice as well as the skill might be commended to posterity. The King of kings, and Lord of lords, Christ himself, had writing upon his garment and upon his thigh; as without writing, the perfect regal ornament of the Omnipotent cannot be apparent.

Those who write books of holy science do not cease to teach when dead. Paul did greater ser-

vice in forming the church by writing holy epistles, than by evangelizing verbally to the Gentiles and Jews : for the compiler continues by books from day to day what the traveller laid in the earth formerly began—and thus the prophetic words about teachers writing books are verified,—“They who teach many according to righteousness shall exist like the stars to alleternity” (Dan. xii.). Moreover, Catholic doctors have determined that the deep researches of the ancients, before God deluged the original world by a general flood, are to be ascribed to miracle and not to nature; as God granted them as much of life as was requisite for discovering and inscribing the sciences in books, amongst which, according to Josephus, the wonderful diversities of astronomy required a period of 600 years, that they might be experimentally submitted to observation.—But indeed they do not insinuate that the productions of the earth did not afford a more useful aliment to mortals in those primitive times, than they do now; by which not only a more exhilarating energy of body was given, but also a more durable and flourishing age; added to which, it conferred not a little to their strength, that the superfluities of voluptuousness were in every way discarded.

Therefore whosoever thou art, being endowed

with the gift of God according to the counsel of the holy spirit (Ecclus. xxxviii.), write wisdom while you have leisure, that your reward with the blessed and the length of your days may be increased. Now if we turn our discourse to the princes of the world, we find great emperors not only to have flourished by skill in the art of writing, but for the most part to have indulged in the practice of it. Julius Cæsar, the first of them all as well in time as in virtue, left Commentaries upon the Gallic and Civil wars, written out by himself; he also made two books of Analogy, and as many against Cato (Anticatos), and a poem titled The Journey, and many other tracts. And Julius, as well as Augustus, invented secret modes of writing letters, that they might conceal what they wrote; for Julius put the fourth letter for the first, and so went through the alphabet; but Augustus put the second for the first, and the third for the second; and such was the custom afterwards. This last is said to have read and written daily, and even to have declaimed, in the greatest pressure of affairs, during the Mutinensian war. Tiberius wrote lyric verse and some Greek poems. Claudius in like manner, skilled both in the Greek and Latin languages, made various books. But in the art of writing, Titus

went beyond these and others, who imitated the hand-writing of whomsoever he pleased, with the utmost facility, and therefore confessed that, if he had chosen, he could have become a great forger. All these things Suetonius notices in his Lives of the Twelve Cæsars.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of handling Books in a cleanly manner,
and keeping them in order.

WE not only set before ourselves a service to God, in preparing volumes of new books, but we exercise the duties of a holy piety, if we first handle so as not to injure them, then return them to their proper places, and commend them to undefiling custody, that they may rejoice in their purity while held in the hand, and repose in security when laid up in their repositories. Truly, next to the vestments and vessels dedicated to the body of the Lord, holy books deserve to be most decorously handled by the clergy, upon which injury is inflicted as often as they presume to touch them with a dirty hand. Wherefore we hold it expedient to exhort students upon various negligencies, which can always be avoided, but which are wonderfully injurious to books.

In the first place, then, let there be a mature decorum in opening and closing of volumes, that they may neither be unclasped with precipitous haste, nor thrown aside after inspection without being duly closed; for it is necessary that a book should be much more carefully preserved

than a shoe. But school folks are in general perversely educated, and, if not restrained by the rule of their superiors, are puffed up with infinite absurdities; they act with petulance, swell with presumption, judge of everything with certainty, and are unexperienced in anything.

You will perhaps see a stiff-necked youth, lounging sluggishly in his study: while the frost pinches him in winter time, oppressed with cold, his watery nose drops, nor does he take the trouble to wipe it with his handkerchief till it has moistened the book beneath it with its vile dew. For such a one I would substitute a cobbler's apron in the place of his book. He has a nail like a giant's, perfumed with stinking ordure, with which he points out the place of any pleasant subject. He distributes innumerable straws in various places, with the ends in sight, that he may recall by the mark what his memory cannot retain. These straws, which the stomach of the book never digests, and which nobody takes out, at first distend the book from its accustomed closure, and being carelessly left to oblivion, at last become putrid. He is not ashamed to eat fruit and cheese over an open book, and to transfer his empty cup from side to side upon it: and because he has not his alms-bag at hand, he leaves the rest of the fragments in his books. He never ceases to chat-

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ter with eternal garrulity to his companions ; and while he adduces a multitude of reasons void of physical meaning, he waters the book, spread out upon his lap, with the sputtering of his saliva. What is worse, he next reclines with his elbows on the book, and by a short study invites a long nap ; and by way of repairing the wrinkles, he twists back the margins of the leaves, to the no small detriment of the volume. He goes out in the rain, and returns, and now flowers make their appearance upon our soil. Then the scholar we are describing, the neglecter rather than the inspector of books, stuffs his volume with firstling violets, roses, and quadrifoils. He will next apply his wet hands, oozing with sweat, to turning over the volumes, then beat the white parchment all over with his dusty gloves, or hunt over the page, line by line, with his fore-finger covered with dirty leather. Then, as the flea bites, the holy book is thrown aside, which, however, is scarcely closed once in a month, and is so swelled with the dust that has fallen into it, that it will not yield to the efforts of the closer.

But impudent boys are to be specially restrained from meddling with books, who, when they are learning to draw the forms of letters, if copies of the most beautiful books are allowed them, begin to become incongruous annotators,

and wherever they perceive the broadest margin about the text, they furnish it with a monstrous alphabet, or their unchastened pen immediately presumes to draw any other frivolous thing whatever, that occurs to their imagination. There the Latinist, there the sophist, there every sort of unlearned scribe tries the goodness of his pen, which we have frequently seen to have been most injurious to the fairest volumes, both as to utility and price. There are also certain thieves who enormously dismember books by cutting off the side margins for letter paper, leaving only the letters or text, or the fly leaves put in for the preservation of the book, which they take away for various uses and abuses, which sort of sacrilege ought to be prohibited under a threat of anathema.

But it is altogether befitting the decency of a scholar, that washing should without fail precede reading, as often as he returns from his meals to study, before his fingers besmeared with grease loosen a clasp or turn over the leaf of a book. Let not a crying child admire the drawings in the capital letters, lest he pollute the parchment with his wet fingers, for he instantly touches whatever he sees.

Furthermore, laymen, to whom it matters not whether they look at a book turned wrong side

upwards or spread before them in its natural order, are altogether unworthy of any communion with books. Let the clerk also take order that the dirty scullion, stinking from the pots, do not touch the leaves of books, unwashed ; but he who enters without spot shall give his services to the precious volumes. The cleanliness of delicate hands, as if scabs and pustules could not be clerical characteristics, might also be most important, as well to books as to scholars, who as often as they perceive defects in books should attend to them instantly, for nothing enlarges more quickly than a rent, as a fracture neglected at the time, will afterwards be repaired with increased trouble.

The most meek Moses instructs us about making cases for books in the neatest manner, wherein they may be safely preserved from all damage. "Take this book," says he, "and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God" (Deut. xxxi.). O, befitting place, appropriate library, which was made of imperishable Shittim wood, and covered all over inside and out with gold ! But our Saviour also, by his own example, precludes all unseemly negligence in the treatment of books, as may be read in Luke iv. For when he had read over the scriptural prophecy written about himself in a book delivered

to him, he did not return it to the minister till he had first closed it with his most holy hands ; by which act students are most clearly taught that they ought not in the smallest degree whatever to be negligent about the custody of books.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Author against Detractors.

Nothing is held to be more unjust in human affairs, than that those things which are most justly done, should be perverted by the obloquies of the malignant, as if he who reports the news of a fault should thereby deserve the highest degree of respect. Many things are done with an honest intention; the right hand does not interfere with the left; the mass is not corrupted by any ferment, nor is the garment woven of flax and wool. A pious work, however, is mendaciously transformed into a monster by the legerdemain of perverters. This state of a sinful mind is without doubt to be reprobated, because it not only judges for the worst of acts morally doubtful, but even with iniquitous perversity very often depraves those that bear the stamp of goodness.

Now, although the love of books, in a clerical man, from the nature of the object, bears honour in the face of it, yet it made us in a wonderful manner obnoxious to the criticisms of many; traduced by whose wonderings we were sometimes remarked upon for superfluous curiosity, sometimes for earnestness in that matter alone,

sometimes for a display of vanity, and sometimes for immoderate pleasure in literature ; but in truth, these vituperations no more discompose us than the barking of a lap-dog, being contented with the testimony of Him, to whom alone it belongs to search the reins and heart. For as the final intention of the secret will is concealed from man and exposed to God alone, the inspector of hearts, they deserve to be rebuked for pernicious rashness, who, not perceiving the main-spring of human actions, so readily set the sinister mark of their baneful temerity upon them. For the end, in things practicable, sustains itself like principles in speculative, and assumptions in mathematical propositions, as Aristotle, the prince of philosophers, witnesses (*Ethics*, 7.). Wherefore, as the truth of a conclusion is made clear from the evidence of principles, so, for the most part, moral goodness in things practicable is stamped upon the performance by the intention of an honest purpose, where on the contrary the work itself ought to be deemed indifferent as to morals. But we have for a long time held a rooted purpose in the inmost recesses of our mind, looking forward to a favourable time and divine aid, to found, in perpetual alms, and enrich with the necessary gifts, a certain Hall in the revered University of Oxford, the first nurse of all the liberal Arts ; and further

to enrich the same, when occupied by numerous scholars, with deposits of our books, so that the books themselves and every one of them may be made common as to use and study, not only to the scholars of the said Hall, but through them to all the students of the aforesaid University for ever, according to the manner and form which the following chapter will declare. Wherefore a sincere love of study, and a zeal for confirming the orthodox faith, to the edification of the church, brought forth in us this to money-lovers stupendous solicitude in purchasing such books, collected from all parts, as were to be sold, regardless of the expense, and of causing those that ought not to be sold to be handsomely transcribed. For as the pleasures of men are diversified in many manners, according to the disposition of the heavenly bodies, to which a complexion of mixtures frequently accommodates itself, so that some choose to be conversant with architecture, some with agriculture, some with field sports, some with navigation, some with war, and some with games,—so our Mercurial sort of honest pleasure about books fell under the will of right reason, (in the controul of which no stars are dominant,) which we have so regulated in honour of the Supreme Majesty, that our mind might find the tranquillity of rest, and that the worship of God might most

devoutly increase thereby. Wherefore let detractors like the blind desist from judging of colours. Let not bats dare to argue about lights, nor those who have beams in their own eyes presume to pluck the motes out of other people's. Let those cease to defame what they know nothing of with satirical remarks, and to discuss secrets which are not open to human research, who perhaps would have commended us with a benevolent affection, if we had found leisure for hunting wild beasts, playing at hazard, or for the favours of mistresses.

CHAPTER XIX.

**A provident Arrangement by which Books
may be lent to Strangers.**

It was always a difficult matter so to limit men to the rules of honesty, that the knavery of the last generation might not overstep the boundaries of its predecessor, and infringe established rules by the licentiousness of liberty. Wherefore by the advice of prudent men we have devised beforehand a certain method by which we wish the communication and use of our books to descend to the service of students. In the first place, therefore, we have conceded and given with a charitable view, to a company of scholars residing in a Hall at Oxford, as a perpetual alms-deed for our own soul and for the souls of our parents, as well as for the souls of the most illustrious King of England, Edward the Third, after the Conquest, and of the most devout Lady Philippa his consort, all and singular the books of which we have made a special catalogue, that all and singular the said books may be lent out for a time to the scholars and masters, as well regulars as seculars, of the University of the said city, for the advantage and

use of students, according to the manner immediately subjoined, which is to this effect.

Five of the scholars dwelling in the aforesaid Hall are to be appointed by the master of the same Hall, to whom the custody of the books is to be deputed. Of which five, three, and in no case fewer, shall be competent to lend any books for inspection and use only; but for copying and transcribing we will not allow any book to pass without the walls of the house. Therefore when any scholar, whether secular or religious, whom we have deemed qualified for the present favour, shall demand the loan of a book, the keepers must carefully consider whether they have a duplicate of that book; and if so, they may lend it to him, taking a security which in their opinion shall exceed in value the book delivered; and they shall immediately make a written memorandum both of the security and the book lent, containing the names of the persons who delivered the book, and of him who received it, with the day and year of our Lord on which the loan took place. But if the keepers shall find that there is no duplicate of the book demanded, they shall not lend such book to any one whomsoever, unless he be of the company of scholars of the said Hall, except as it may happen for inspection within the walls of the aforesaid Hall, but not to be carried beyond them.

But to every scholar whatever of the aforesaid Hall, any book whatever may be available by loan ; his name, and the day on which he received the book, being first noted down. He however is not to have the power of lending the book delivered to him, to another, without the assent of three of the aforesaid keepers, and then the name of the first borrower being erased, the name of the second, with the time of delivery, is to be inscribed. For observing all these conditions each of the keepers shall pledge his faith, when a custody of this kind is deputed to him. But the receivers of a book or books shall swear in like manner that he or they shall in no way apply a book to any other use but to inspection or study, and that they will neither carry nor permit it to be carried without the city of Oxford and the suburbs. And the aforesaid keepers must render an account every year to the master of the house, and two of his scholars to be selected by him ; or if he has not leisure, he shall depute three inspectors, not being keepers, who reading over the catalogue must see that they have the whole, either in the books themselves or at least in the securities representing them. We also think the most convenient time for settling this account will be from the kalends of June to the subsequent feast of the most glorious martyr St. Thomas. But we have to add this, that every

person, in every instance, to whom any book has been lent, shall exhibit the book once in the year to the keepers, and if he wishes it he shall see his security. Moreover if any book should happen to be lost, through death, theft, fraud or carelessness, he who lost it or his administrator or executor shall in like manner pay the price of the book and receive the security ; but if profit should in any way arise to the keepers themselves, it is not to be converted to any other purpose than to the aid and repairing of the books.

Here we pass over many particulars relating to the care of books, because it appears unnecessary to detail them at present.

CHAPTER XX.

The Author desires to be prayed for, and notably teaches Students to pray.

TIME now urges us to finish the tract we are tagging together, about the Love of Books, in which we have endeavoured to account for the amazement of our contemporaries at our taking such great delight in books. But because scarcely anything can be said to be performed by mortals that has not some sprinkling of the powder of vanity in it, we will not attempt entirely to justify the zealous love we have so constantly had for books, as it may perhaps at times have been the cause of some venial neglect on our part, although the object of our love were honourable, and the intention regulated. For may we not still be bound to call ourselves unprofitable servants, when we shall have done all these things? Indeed if the most holy Job was fearful in all his works; if, according to Isaiah, all our righteousness is as a menstruous cloth, who shall presume to boast of the perfection of any virtue whatever? or shall not deserve to be reprehended for some circumstances which perhaps he was not able to perceive of himself? For good arises out of pure causes;

but evil is omnifarious (as Dionysius instructs us, on Divine Names).

Wherefore, being about to demand the aid of prayers as a remedy for the sins by which we acknowledge ourselves very often to have offended the Creator of all things, we have thought proper to exhort our future students, that they may in so far become grateful as well to ourselves as to their other future benefactors, as to recompense our providential benefactions by spiritual retributions, that we may live entombed in their memories, who being yet unborn lived in our benevolence, and now live, supported by our benefactions.

Let them, with unwearied importunity, implore the clemency of our Redeemer, to the end that he may spare our neglects; that the pious Judge may be indulgent to the guilt of our sins; that he may throw the cloak of charity over the omissions of our frailty, and through his divine benignity remit the offences which with shame and repentance we acknowledge ourselves to have committed; that he may preserve in us sufficient time for repentance, for returning thanks for his gifts, for the confirmation of our faith, for the exaltation of our hope, and for the most unbounded charity towards all mankind; that he may incline our proud will to lament its errors, to deplore its

former most vain elations, retract its most bitter indignations, and detest its most insane pleasures ; that his strength may grow in us as our own decays, who alike gratuitously consecrated our entrance into holy baptism, and undeservedly exalted our progress to the apostolical state. That the love of the flesh may be weakened in our spirit, and the fear of death entirely vanish from it ; that it may desire to be set at liberty, and to be with Christ ; and that when in body alone we are placed in the earth, we may dwell in thought and earnest desire in the eternal country !

May the Father of mercy and the God of all consolation run to meet the prodigal son returning from the husks ! May he receive the drachm found again, and transmit it by holy angels into the eternal treasury ! May He, with terrific countenance, castigate the spirit of darkness in the hour of our departure, that the old serpent Leviathan, lurking at the threshold of the gate of death, may not prepare unlooked-for snares for our feet ! But when we shall be called up to the tremendous tribunal, that we may relate everything that we did in the body (our conscience bearing witness), may humanity joined to God consider the price of his holy blood poured out for us ! and may Divinity made man advert to the com-

position of carnal nature, that its fragility may pass on with impunity to that place where clement piety is declared to be infinite, where the spirit of mercy breathes, and where the peculiar office of the Judge is to be exceedingly merciful ! Furthermore, the refuge of our hope, next to God and the Blessed Virgin and Queen Mother, is that our students may always be careful to reiterate devout salutations, that we who deserve to meet an angry Judge may be made worthy to find him appeased by their ever grateful suffrages ! May a pious hand depress to an equipoise the scale in which our merits, as small as few, shall be weighed, lest (which God forbid !) the weight of crime may preponderate, and cast us to be damned in the abyss ! Moreover, let them be devoutly anxious to venerate the merits of St. Cuthbert the confessor, whose flock we, though unworthy, took upon ourselves to feed, earnestly praying that he may favourably condescend to exculpate his vicar, though indeed undeserving, and that he may bring it about that the successor he admitted on earth, may be made a confessor in heaven !

Finally, Let them beseech God with holy prayers, as well bodily as mental, that he may bring back the spirit created in the image of the Trinity, after its sojourn in this life of misery, to its

primordial prototype, and grant it a perpetual view of his rejoicing countenance, through our Lord Jesus Christ! Amen.

Here endeth the Philobiblon, or Book upon
the Love of Books, Printed at Cologne
in the year of our Lord
M.CCCC.LXXIII.

NOTES.



TITLE.—Philobiblon, Ed. Cologne, 1473—Oxford 1599—*Philobiblion, Paris*, 1500. If the first was the author's own word, it ought not to be altered.

Page 1. “qui omnem de agibilibus questionem consilium probat esse.”—The English translation of *προαίρεσις*, ‘deliberate choice,’ is substituted for the ‘consilium’ of the monks, which does not give the effect of the compound word ‘preference,’ that is, deliberate and not accidental choice. The allusion to Aristotle in this place is not much to the purpose.

Page 2. “the Septiform Spirit.”—If the reader can make out, from the following quotations, what this spirit is, he will be much edified; if not, he may invoke it himself, or consult Astexanus, Aquinas, the Salisbury Horæ, and many other like authorities. “The Septenary number in the New Law designates what the Decenary does in the Old. The seven gifts of the Holy Ghost are designated in the Decalogue; viz. Wisdom, Understanding, Knowledge, Council, Mercy, Fortitude, Fear.—This Septiform Grace, according to the seven properties or effects of Fire, which signifies the Holy Ghost, occasions the diversity of gifts in the said spirit. The seven effects of Fire are, Destruction, as of sin by wisdom—Illumination, as enlightening the understanding—Conjunction,

as of the knowledge of many—Ascension, as of the mind by council.—Melting, as to Mercy—Consolidation, as producing fortitude—Fervency, as in contemplation and the Fear of God.”

Page 3. “*elegorum quin potius electorum.*”—The Bishop never misses an alliteration, even to punning: *elegorum* may have a different meaning from what is here given to it; but it may also be derived from some old law term, as we have ‘utlegary’ for ‘outlawry’ in the *Vieux Abridgement*.”

Ibid. Tertullian says the wild olive springs from the stem of the true tree, and the wild fig from the seed of the fruitful tree.—This appears to be reversing the order of nature. The wild plant must be the original, though fruit may be improved by cultivation; the plant may however degenerate by neglect.

Page 4. “*naturam et speciem veræ stellæ præcedens subito decidit et fit a sub.*” The various readings are, “*prætendens—decidens—assub.*”—This passage is rather paraphrased than translated: the allusion is evidently to what is called a shooting star; but *fit a sub* is said of a comet, describing it as a meteor formed in a lower sphere than that of the planets, and as a thing that will burn out and be extinguished: “*stella crinita—nubes ignea accensa—vapor terrenus grossus.*” Ptolemy and others are quoted for these descriptions.

Page 5 and other places. “The Liberties of the Church.”—An inexhaustible subject, though it may be cut very short, by allowing the said liberties to have no limits. In 1491, while His Holiness was standing on the pinnacle of the glorious edifice his predecessors had raised, taking a view of the

world over which he meant to extend his sway as opportunity offered, and little dreaming how soon he might have a fall,—his prothonotary, John Lupus (an awkward name in a sheepfold), was writing a book—*De Libertate Ecclesiastica*, &c. “On Ecclesiastical Liberty, and On the Confederation of Princes, together with certain golden Questions most worthy of notice.” Such is the title, the effect is to show that the Pope is Lord of the creation. The book was printed at Strasburg in 1511, perhaps before. If the Reformers had translated it into every European language, with a proper comment, as a warning to princes and people, we should by this time have known little about Spiritual Lords Temporal, Church and State, and many other absurdities that have made the Christian religion a name with no other definition than what every individual or sect chooses to give it, while no two can agree about what it ought to be. To some it is a burthen they bear for the sake of Christianity; and some have shown a disposition to shake off Christianity itself, on account of the mass of rubbish it is encumbered with, and which they know not how to separate from it.

A disputed brief of Pius the Second is taken as a text and pretext for writing this tract. What is said of it is of no consequence; whether spurious or not, the Church had a right to give it. There are about 70 questions in the tract, and about as many leaves: it would have made a ponderous volume if the authorities referred to had been given at length.

Q. 2. Whether the liberty of churches and priests is of right divine?—Answered in the affirmative.

Q. 3. Whether the Pope can dispense contrary to Divine law? Whether tithes are of natural or Divine right: how they are comprehended under the moral precepts; and whether the Pope can give dispensation for not paying tithes?—

All affirmed, though not without qualification :—rights may be declared either human or Divine, as may appear most convenient, and are therefore easily disposed of; but whether even the Pope can give up so Divine a right as tithes is a serious question. “*Dum tangit Dei honorem :*” so says Solomon, Prov. iii. “*Honora Dominum de tua substantia.*” “It touches the honour of God :” this was Solomon’s feeling when he said “Honour the Lord with thy substance.”—King James’s Bishops have added five marginal references to this verse, one of them in favour of tithes,—Malachi iii. 10. The last is rather unfortunate, but he was an honest man who made it,—Luke xiv. 13. “But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, and the blind,” and “thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.” Was it not once the law that part of the tithes should go to the poor? We are nowhere told by the Church, though it is a self-evident fact, that under a government entirely ecclesiastical (a warlike one at times), like that of the Jews, the tithes were the revenue of the State, for the Church was the State.—1 Samuel viii. 14 to 17, says, if you have a king he will tithe you, speaking of it as a grievance. This proves one of three positions : either that no tithes were paid in his time ; or, that no other government taxes were paid ; or, that the Church would not give up its tithes, even though it kept them for private use ; for it would have been no grievance to the people to pay the King instead of the Church, if they paid no more than they did before. It shows also why David was so anxious about building the temple, and making himself the head of it ; why he called Solomon a priest and a tithe collector, for he could have addressed the 110th Psalm to nobody else ; why Solomon built the temple at the seat of government, where it ought not to have been ; why the Jews built another in what they considered the right place, and

made a schism that weakened the empire, and was one of the causes of its fall. It is true that the tithes were given to the Lord, or to the Levites,—the words are used separately and jointly. But who were the people given to? Were they not the Lord's, and did they not hold themselves to be under his peculiar government spiritually and temporally? Who ordered them to make war and peace? The Church; and the Church must have paid: Jews do not fight for nothing.

Q. 7. "Admitting, though it is not conceded, that a community may receive taxes from the clergy, Can such taxes be augmented?—*non licet hodie clericis augmentare.*" The allusion is to tolls taken at the gates of cities, or in markets upon commodities brought for sale, of which the produce of church lands, tithe in kind, &c. were no small portion.—Ans. If such produce pays toll from custom, the toll cannot be augmented on the clergy. It is certain a community may augment its toll on the people, and the clergy their taxes, but no notice is taken of this,—the Church only protects itself.

Q. 11. Part 2. From whom did ecclesiastical liberty emanate? and what such liberty and immunity is.—It would take a fortnight to read the three pages of this chapter with all the references, if the books were at hand. "That we may better understand this matter, it is to be inquired what is properly called ecclesiastical liberty, &c. *Et. glo. in. c. cū devotissima xij. q. ij. ait;*" that is, "And the gloss on chapter beginning *Cum devotissima*, distinction xii. question ii. says"—The author is sometimes named, but oftener not, being supposed to be known from the subject. This gloss says, "Immunity is the privilege the Church enjoys," i. e. it keeps all it has got, and takes as much more as it can get, and so the privilege is always good. Chrysostom says,

“ The greatest care has been taken by God not to surround the Church with mountains, but to fence it round with faith ; for heaven is stretched out, the air expanded, the sea poured out, and paradise planted for the Church ; for on account of the Church the only begotten son of God was made man, who himself says, ‘ I who founded heaven and created the angels established her ; but I was not crucified on account of heaven, I did not receive a celestial body on account of heaven, nor assume the nature of angels.’ Wherefore Isaiah, alluding to the same words of the Lord, says, ‘ quasi sponsa posuit mitra mihi, et quasi sponsus ornavit me ornamento : ’ ” which quotation disagrees with four Bibles, that all disagree with each other. The turn given to it seems to be, that the bride, or Church, puts a mitre on the bridegroom, who in return adorns the bride. The conclusion is, that the Roman Church is called Catholic, and the head of other churches. There is a shuffle about the word ‘ universal’, but that is claimed afterwards. “ It obtained the primacy from the voice of our Lord and Saviour, who created it upon the rock of the rising faith. Solomon claimed immunities for the temple—*Exaudi orationem*, ‘ I have heard your prayer.’ God promised to give Moses immunities (*Exod. xxi.*) ; God gave cities, &c. (*Josh. xx.*), and made them free from all subjection, jurisdiction, and exactions of temporal princes. God says, ‘ All the earth is mine,’ (*Exod. xix.*) ; the Psalmist adds, ‘ and the plenitude thereof.’ “ From these and many other authorities that it would be tedious to quote, it appears that churches and their priests, ministers and tithes, are exempted by Almighty God himself from all superiority and jurisdiction of temporal rulers and other seculars ; and so it is interpreted by holy men and supreme Pontiffs.” He should have said (for the quotations include it), because all the world, &c. belongs to the Church. There is one more question that confirms the

whole : Whether kings can be compelled at the instance of Pontiffs to defend the Church, &c. ?—They can. Indeed they now know what it is to turn knights-errant for the Church. “Being the minister of peace and the head of all nations, it is proper that the sovereign Pontiff should correct by evangelical denunciation, paternal admonition, censure and penalties : but as he cannot assist one party (with force) without injuring another, it is more convenient he should assist neither than that one should be aggrieved.” That is, the Church should make no enemies for itself, though it may artfully and secretly throw the onus of discord upon whoever will take the risk of it. What has it gained by it ? What has any nation gained by setting itself up as the arbiter of the rights of others, and the rectifier of political wrongs that did not concern itself ? Mordecai who sits at the King’s gate can answer the last question for all Europe. His old clothes bag, filled to the brim with pawned crowns, presents a better moral and political lesson than even the history of his race. Wars are expensive : the Church knew it ; but it could find no divine authority for paying,—its greatest and best privilege is to be a receiver.

There can be no greater treason against the human race than a false arrogation of Divine authority, nor a more dangerous power than that which is assumed under it. It is not in the nature of man not to abuse unlimited power, because he has not unlimited wisdom to controul it. Neither does such power accord with the nature of man as a social being, for society is a nullity without the seal of reciprocity ; the ruler and the ruled must be of one accord, or there can be no peace between them, and no stability in their institutions.

The Church of Rome, in assuming unlimited power under the New Law, was compelled to look to the Old for its au-

thority, though it made no scruple of abolishing that, wherever it was found unprofitable. Its Head calls himself, what the Gospel commands him to be, *Servus servorum Dei*. It is the business of a Church to govern its own servants or priests and nobody else. It is the business of a Christian priest to do the duties of his office, to instruct the people in theirs, to persuade and exhort them to attend to it,—and to do all this as the most humble servant of the servants or people of God. It is for the interest of civil society to provide priests with a moderate competency, but not to support them in idleness and luxury, nor to give to any priest more than is necessary for his individual support: if he requires more on account of his family, he may earn it honestly, as many do, in a becoming manner:—he is educated for a teacher; he gets a preference oftener than he deserves it, and in that respect is better off than the multitude, who know not where to look for the means of subsistence. Overlooking all these things, to say nothing of the poverty enjoined in the Gospel, the Church of Rome (and every Church will do the same if it can,) assumes the right of disposing of the souls, bodies, and possessions of all the people in the world at its own will and pleasure. Not finding sufficient authority for its pretensions, even by misinterpreting the Old Testament, it quotes (in Lupus's treatise and elsewhere) Pharaoh and Mahomet, the priesthood of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, its own barbarians, and traditions of all sorts, of which nobody knows the origin.—Long as this note is, it is to the purpose of the Philobiblon, the author's objects being to promote the Church of Rome, to increase its love of literature, and diminish its love of wealth. Whether the love of money will not always be the ruling passion of a political Church, is a problem not difficult to solve, if experience is worth anything in the solution. As to literature, what Church has not corrupted its

own and every other branch of knowledge it had the teaching of?

Page 11. "ferules"—omitted in Ed. 1599.—The worst scholars know best what this means.

Read, "to learned men in writing,"

Page 14. "reward for wisdom."—Aristotle says, the judges of intellectual contests should be wiser than those they judge of: if the wisest contended, who could decide? such contests would be a source of enmity. In bodily contests men are not indignant against the judges, but they are apt to be angry with anybody that thinks them less wise than themselves.

Qui docet indoctos, licet indoctissimus esset,

Ipse brevi reliquis doctior esse queat.—*Lilly*.

Page 15. "vive vocis articulo—al. oraculo."—"Sound is the best contrast."

"according to virtue—al. veritatem."—Not so in Aristotle.

Page 17. "Aristotle left his library to Theophrastus, who left his to Neleus; he carried it to Scepsis (Palæscepsis or Scaptis), where, being placed in the hands of ignorant men, it was shut up and neglected; but it being known that the kings of the Attali, under whom these men lived, were desirous of founding a library at Pergamus, the books were concealed in a cellar under ground (probably for fear of seizure), till they were damaged by moths and damp. They afterwards came into the hands of Apelicon, who gave a large sum of money for the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus: but Apelicon, like many we know in our times, was more fond of books than of learning; and being desirous to have perfect copies, he caused them to be transcribed; but

the lost writing not being properly supplied, he edited books full of errors. After the death of Apelicon, Sylla (who took Athens) brought his library to Rome, where Tyrannion the grammarian, a great admirer of Aristotle, ingratiating himself with the librarian, caused them to be re-edited; but still less correctly, owing to certain inferior writers being employed, and their copies not being duly collated. If then the Greek copies were corrupted, what is to be thought of the Latin translations, especially the earlier ones? which those who read them labour not so much to know what is said in them, as what ought to be said. Truly, if Aristotle were to revive, he would deny many things attributed to him; but he has fared better than some whose works have perished entirely, though he is partly the cause that many have perished, having drawn the glory of others to himself. *Ruet etiam ipse quamvis magnus.*—*Pius II.*

Page 20. “donec direpta notatur barbarie—nota barbarie—dempta vestra barbarie”—“babbling accents—all wrong perhaps. Pius II. says,

“It may be asked why, amongst all the barbarous nations that came to the assistance of Priam, Homer calls the Carians alone barbarous of speech. Strabo thought, from the name being first conferred on them, that those who spoke with difficulty, harshly, or in an uncultivated manner, were called barbarians, such as we call *blæsos* and *balbos*, ‘lispers’ and ‘stammerers,’ for we (Romans) also are ingenious in contriving names akin to things. All those, therefore, who spoke confusedly were called Barbarians; such were all nations except the Greeks;—the name, by misuse, came to signify all other nations. The Apostle Paul calls all people barbarians who do not understand each other’s language: “If I know not the meaning of the voice, (Is this a barbarous trans-

lation?) I shall be unto him that speaketh a barbarian, and he that speaketh shall be a barbarian unto me," 1 Cor. xiv. 11. This does not prove that the word is not older than Homer: its origin may be the *ba, ba*, of children; and that appears to be the meaning of it here. May it not have represented the *burr*, or imperfect guttural pronunciation of the letter *α*, common in the North of England, in France, and perhaps elsewhere?

Page 21. "*Quadrivij pennas*" may mean 'the four Gospels.'—Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, Astrology, are called *Quadrivium*—Gloss on Boetius.—*Scientiæ Quadriviales*, G. de Monte Rokerij.—*Litteræ Quadriviales*, *Triviales*—*Quadrifida Mathesis*, J. Stapulensis, used to express the various branches of any science, &c.

"The three loaves."—This idea was taken from Luke xi. 5; but the 8th verse is rather against the Bishop's explanation of the three loaves, "he will give him *as many* as he needeth."

"Lost or rejected."—That is, the Trinity was overlooked; for John was not asked to explain what his witnesses bore witness to, and it would have been entirely lost but for the controversies of the clergy. This is true; but the controversy began about words, and ended in the discovery of a Trinity, and an accumulation of blunders about it, from which the Church could not extricate itself. The Athanasian Creed was intended by the Church to make an end of the question, by forcing its blunders on the people with all their inconsistencies, upon pain of damnation: it never thought the people worth throwing away an argument upon. A similar controversy took place about the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary:—the Church refused to decide it. The controversy about the proper time for keeping Easter lasted 1200 years:—the Church had the worst of it; their oppo-

nents were the Jews. The day was at last fixed at a wrong time, for the sake of convenience. It was this dispute that finally brought about the change of style, by detecting the error in the common æra, which was first done at Rome, though not perfectly. The merit of it belongs to Paul (a Jew) of Middelburg, not of Burgos. It has been attributed to somebody else.

Page 21. "People of the Acquisition."—This word, used in the Rhemish New Testament, was objected to by Fulke, as unintelligible to the vulgar reader;—if it is a good word, that is a bad reason: it is certainly not synonymous with 'peculiar,' nor does 'peculiar' mean *purchased*. See 1 Peter ii. 9. and the margin. If 'peculiar' is not in the original text, what right had our translators to put it there? Were the Christians intended to be a universal or a peculiar people?

Page 22. "Placed behind: *postpositis*."—The Reformers were very indignant at the manner in which mass is celebrated. The priest stands with his back to the people. In describing the ceremony, one of them says, "Then turning his tail to the people," or words to that effect.

"After the order of Melchisedech."—It was the anonymous author of the Epistle to the Hebrews who first applied this to Jesus, taking it from the 110th Psalm. The Councils of the Church found something in this Epistle that suited their purpose, and therefore put it into the Canon, and endeavoured to pass it off as a production of Paul. But to say nothing of other evidence, Paul knew better than to address a letter to the Hebrews, who are never once mentioned in any other Book in the New Testament; and for a very good reason, viz.—there had been no people who went by that name for 500 years before this writer's time. Josephus

says they were called Jews after the return from Babylon, 461 B.C.; and so he and every body else who knew any thing about them called them from that time. The probability is, the Church wished to preserve some of the doctrines of the Epistle; but having no partiality for the writer or those he wrote to (perhaps the Ebionites or some other sect), altered the address, and concealed the name of the author. What occasion had this author, in applying the words of the Psalm to Jesus, to repeat them six times over, and to lay such a stress upon tithes? See chap. vii. 2. &c. But the 8th verse has been enforced by the Church of England, "he *receiveth them* of whom it is witnessed that he liveth," the italics denoting an interpolation. Is this true or false of Jesus, or who is it spoken of? "Levi paid tithes in Abraham, for he was yet in the loins of his father when Melchisedech met him." It has been argued whether a child could be baptized in the womb; but nobody else ever thought of taxing a man in his father's loins, though "the child that is yet unborn" has been taxed by those who neither thought of nor cared for the consequences. The importance of Melchisedech to the Church is, that he was a King, a Priest, and a Tithe-collector. It is for the Churches that sanction this application of the text to Jesus to give satisfaction upon that head. The author before us applies it also to priests and tithe-collectors,—so far, well: but what makes priests Kings? They are kings when kings are weak enough to be ruled by them, and to believe they strengthen their political government by an alliance with them,—blind enough not to see when they are undermining their thrones by oppressing and irritating their subjects, and that all their acts of legislation are for their own benefit—Church and State being a partnership in which the principal of the firm receives all the profit, the junior stands all the loss, and no

little risk of going into the Gazette solus. It is a partnership between man and wife, with a settlement on the wife: this has been verified to the letter in Spain; but there may be cases where the wife would not even contribute to the personal support of her husband if he had the misfortune to stand in need of it, and still less to discharge the debts of the firm. Let us suppose a Church and State to enter into a war for the sake of religion and morality, Who were most likely to have advised such a war? Who pays for it? Who profits by it,—not only by the rise in the value of its possessions, tithes, &c. &c., but actually demands increase of salaries on account of the increased expense of living?—The war ends in something like bankruptcy, or in the impoverishment of the people,—does the Church lower its increased rates, or give up any thing? Has it not even in a calamitous peace in some instances raised its demands, sought out an old Act of Parliament to make 2s. 9d. the tithe of 20s., and raised the tax on a parish from 250*l.* a-year to 2500*l.* Now, if a parish can afford to pay 2000*l.* a-year more than it formerly paid, why not pay it to the impoverished State, and not to a pampered individual, perhaps the holder of two livings, and a magistrate, in a place connected with neither—a man who studies the value of brick and mortar, watches every nail that is driven in his parish, and tithes every paltry improvement to the last farthing! As to tithes, it is an absurdity to say they cannot be abolished without injury to anybody; and a greater, to leave the commutation of them to the Church, which will only contrive something that will ultimately turn to its own advantage. This was the case with the act above alluded to; it was meant to fix the tithe upon the rent of the day, never to be raised; it was purposely not enrolled, and probably falsified; for the ministers of State at the time were Churchmen.

Does any church care whether it is held in respect or not, while it can tax even those who are disgusted with its abuses and leave it on that account? Is it likely to recall them by erecting new buildings at their expense, taxing them at the door for entering them; not even exempting children at school from an enormous charge, and publicly avowing pecuniary advantage to be all its object, by setting up a shop-board in front of them, with "Orders taken in here"? Verily the hand-writing is already on the wall!

Page 24. "display the token."—The benefit of clergy is alluded to. From this and what follows, it appears to have been only intended for clergymen, and not for everybody that could read, as some have supposed. A particular verse in the Psalms was generally read; it is mentioned somewhere, but I cannot recollect where.

Ibid. "The bench transferred."—*Dum forum transfertur a laico*, in all the editions.—Query, *laicus transfertur ad forum*.

"Then went he to the market place,
As fast as he could hye,
A payre of new gallows he there set up,
Beside the pillory."

The layman transferred to the market-place, would be more intelligible.

Page 26. "furs"—*farraturas*—*al. furraturas*.—It should be *forrituras*, from *fourrures*, Fr.: it is so written by Ja. de Vitriaco in *Vita Mariæ de Ocgines*, circa 1200, and other authorities. It properly means fur trimmings—*fourritures*.

Page 27. "25th Eccles."—It has been said that if lions were painters there would be more pictures of lions killing men than of men killing them. Women have written less than

men, upon a subject they could certainly have given another turn to;—it is no proof of the boasted superiority of man, and still less of the superior learning and sanctity of the clergy, that they have not entered into a controversy upon it. But why has a clergy sworn to celibacy and chastity, shown itself to have known more of the secrets of women, and of the worst class of them, than all other writers? or where did it get the knowledge but by illicit intercourse, which it appears rather to have gloried in than endeavoured to conceal. A book called *De Remedio Amoris*, written by one Andreas, chaplain to Pope Innocent the 4th, 1243 to 53, contains all that can be said in abuse of women, and more than anybody else ever thought of: it is in the Catalogue of manuscripts appended to the Oxford edition of this work; but the editor does not say whether these were the Bishop's books. It is also in print; but I only know of one copy, very old, without date.

Page 29. "Martial the cook."—The monks always call him so. It is said to have originated from a mistake in a Dedication; but Martial very often speaks of cookery: this may have led somebody to speak of him in a way that a careless reader may have mistaken.

Page 30. "how corruptly."—Notwithstanding all the warnings the author has given to transcribers, his own book has probably suffered more from them than any other work of so little importance. There is not a single page of the Oxford text that agrees with the first or Cologne edition of 1473, from which the present translation is made, with only such corrections of evident errors as were necessary. Some omissions are also supplied, but there are some in all the editions. The translator accidentally discovered from an-

other work of Mr. James's, that he was not a man to be satisfied with correcting errors or supplying omissions of transcribers and printers: he even doubts his having collated various ancient manuscripts, but has no doubt of his having preferred his own words to those of the author. He may or may not have been a better Latinist than the Bishop; but he was not better versed in the dialect used by him and others of his time and country, who spoke it fluently, and wrote as they were accustomed to speak. It would be as great an absurdity to modernize every other line of Chaucer, as to reduce every other line of monkish Latin to the best ancient standard. This translation would not have appeared if there had been any other, good or bad. It is the work of one whom the Bishop would have debarred from the use of any book but a ledger. The translator has no quarrel with him on that account, and has nowhere wilfully misrepresented him: on the contrary, he holds him in great respect, believing him to have been a lover of truth, and an exception to his order: he has therefore endeavoured to give his meaning literally and correctly. It was curiosity to find out what manner of people lived, and how they acted and thought in the middle ages of our era, that induced the translator to read the language they usually wrote in, and to translate this book, which was done some years ago as an exercise:—the regular bred scholar may find blunders in it, but it is hoped not such as to alter the meaning of the author. Many readers will be pleased to see it in any form, for the Latin editions are not easily to be found.

Page 31. "every artificer."—Page 34. "the height of prudence."—Ecclus. xxxviii. 25, &c. "How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough?" The monks read for—wisdom, &c.

money, and holdeth not. The Church makes others hold the plough for them.

Page 34. "Horæ."—This word is inserted because it was the daily service of the monks, invented to help them to pass their time. The nuns also used the *Horæ Beatæ Virginis*, and many a deep-drawn sigh have the words "Ecce concipies" forced from the bottom of their hearts.

Page 36. "offscourings"—peripsema,—an elegant Greek word, for the preservation of which we are indebted to Paul, whose vocabulary in this way is copious.—See 1 Tim. i. 10.—Ephes. v. 5.—1 Cor. vi. 9, &c. where "*some of you*" is a mistranslation. Jerome introduced peripsima into Latin. Erasmus follows his orthography: Trithemius corrects it. His works, *De Statu et Ruina Monastici Ordinis*,—*De Triplici Regione Claustralium* &c. are worth consulting: his editor calls them not less useful than pleasant and necessary. It was found necessary to remind the monks of the twelve degrees of humility; but twelve verses upon that subject being found too much for their memories, they were reduced to four:

"Cerne deum : nec velle tuum fac : te regat alter.

Dura feras : nil corde tegas : sed in infima queras.

Esto peripsema : solivagus non : obstrue linguam.

Risus parcus : sermo gravis : gestus humiles sint."

The humility of a monk was chiefly required towards his superiors: it consisted in the most passive obedience, and rigid observance of rules. It was part of Augustine's rule, that no monk should go out of his convent alone,—"*two or more,*" that their conduct might always be under watch.

Page 36. "in suffering"—*si penuriam patientes, animas vestras scitis in patientia possidere.*—The real meaning of this passage is perhaps, "if you know how to retain self-possession." It alludes to what may be a garbled quotation, in Luke xxi. 16 to 19, where the context is, "Ye shall be betrayed—put to death—but there shall not a hair of your head perish." Upon which our translators add, "In your patience possess ye your souls." Here it has been asked what the vulgar understand by *patience*: some indeed, not of the vulgarest, can make nothing of this translation. Jerome reads, "In your suffering you shall possess."—"Viriliter feras quod necesse est, dolor patientia vincitur," says a school book called Seneca's Moral Sentences. To such works the knowledge of our translators was confined.

Page 37. See also page 58. "The Order of Preachers."—Dominic was the founder of the Order of Preachers, but rather at an unfortunate time; for the 4th Lateran Council had just prohibited the erection of any new religious Order, which he was not aware of till after he had matured his, and associated himself with sixteen other persons for the purpose of carrying it into effect: this was in 1215. The Pope died soon after, and his successor, Honorius the 3rd, is pretended to have confirmed the Order in 1216. But the Constitutions of the Order, revised and published in 1515, are satisfied with something short of a positive assertion on that head, hinting at but concealing the truth. Butler, much against his will, alludes to a verbal confirmation. The fact is, Innocent the 3rd, the predecessor of Honorius, was well inclined towards Dominic, but could not break the order so recently established; he had, however, a correspondence with him, and while on a journey, in which he died at Perugia, he ordered his secretary to write a letter according to his dictation.

The secretary being ready to begin, his Holiness said, "Write to Friar Dominic and the Preaching Friars";—here he made a long pause, being unwell and not able to collect his ideas. The secretary in the mean time wrote the superscription. The Pope at last recovering himself began again, repeating the last words to keep up the connection: but not exactly recollecting them, he said, "and the Friars Preachers." The secretary, who was in Dominic's interest, and had his wits about him, saw that this was a good title; he therefore took a fresh paper, and began again: the letter was finished and properly signed, and Dominic and his associates did not fail to take advantage of it. Honorius appointed Dominic master of the sacred palace, with liberty to serve by deputy. Either owing to the interference of one of these deputies, or because Innocent had done so before him, Honorius continued to call the friars *Prædicatores*—confirming the name, but not the Order. When Dominic was canonized in 1234, the Pope (Gregory 9th) desired the notary to put the word *Prædicantes* into the act of canonization, but he wrote *Prædicatores*; and when called to account for it, maintained that *Prædicantes* was ungrammatical in the place in question, as it had an adjective signification, applicable only to persons in the act of preaching; while the Bull meant to commend the Saint for having founded an order of Preachers. The word was therefore allowed to remain, and the Order was considered as confirmed by the Bull. Dominic originally observed the rule of Augustine, and it was always prefixed to his own;—hence the double rule, and the reference to Augustine. There were other friars appointed to preach against the heresies of the times, but they were not Preachers by profession; and moreover, there were some who associated the idea of Prophet with the word Prædicator. See page 36, where "divinely substituted" applies to the Preachers.

The Order was founded to oppose the Albigenses and other heretics: The Church was better pleased to occupy the people with its ceremonies than with preaching, which had nearly got into disuse. Luxury and ease were the objects of the clergy, and if heresy could have been overcome by force, Doctrine might have gone to sleep: the Bishop indeed proves that it was sufficiently neglected. That there was a great scarcity of preachers long after this time is certain. The Archbishop of St. Andrew's in Scotland published a Catechism in 1552, in which he says: "And to be short and plain with all you that are spiritual curates under us, our whole intention (as we take God to witness) is to help as much as lies in us the Christian people your parishioners out of blind and dangerous ignorance, and to bring them to the knowledge of things that belong to their salvation. And therefore every Sunday and principal holiday, when there comes no preacher (or travelling monk) to them, to show them the Word of God, this Catechism may be used and read to them instead of preaching, till God of his goodness provide a sufficient number of catholic and able preachers, which shall be within few years, as we trust in God, to whom be honour and glory for ever: Amen*."

It would appear that these Roman Catholic preachers were yet to be taught, though John Knox was at the church door.

In 1538 Dean Thomas Forrest, Vicar of Dolour, was called before the Bishop of Dunkeld, for preaching every Sunday on the Epistles and Gospels of the day, and desired to forbear, as it brought him under suspicion of heresy; but if he could find a good Gospel or Epistle that made for the liberty of Holy Church, he might preach that. The Dean said

* The original is in the Scottish dialect.

he had read the Old and New Testament, and had never found a bad Gospel or Epistle in either. The Bishop said, Thank God, I have lived well these many years, and never knew of the said Testaments; and if you, Dean Thomas, leave not these fantasies, you will repent when you cannot mend it. The Dean neglected the warning, and was burnt.—The Bishop's notion of a Gospel, &c. seems to have been derived from the portions selected for church service.

Page 37. "lenity"—the old edition *levitatis*.—From this and other similar errors, it is inferred, that as no pains were taken to correct errors, none were taken to alter the text, and that it is therefore upon the whole more genuine than the Oxford edition.—The edition 1473 was printed 129 years after the work was written, and the MS. was probably of much earlier date.—See note on page 30, and Preface.

Ibid. "study of Holy Writ."—Some objected, though improperly, to the Preachers and Minors because they did no manual labour. Those who laboured became cultivators of land, and not of religion.—See note on page 31.

Page 38. "certain tracts."—The Lives of Christ, the Virgin, and of the Saints, as written by the Roman Catholics, are taken from the tracts here alluded to. Some of them are very ancient, and some bear marks of being altered from legends even older than Christianity; for there were monks in all ages, especially in the East, whose acts were sufficiently remarkable to deserve a record. Even in the Lives of the Primitive Fathers there are some extraordinary allusions: "This new sect of philosophy (the Christian) which we profess, heretofore flourished amongst the Barbarians. Afterwards, under the reign of Augustus (who died in the 13th year of Jesus), it spread itself over the provinces of your

(the Roman) empire." The writer was Melito, Bishop of Sardis about the year 170*. The Nazarites could have been nothing but monks (see Num. vi.). In Matth. ii. 23, read "Nazarite", for so the prophet spoke. The quotation is from Judges xiii. 5 and 7.

Page 41. "mouth it"—*theatrali strepitu labiatis*.

Page 42. "in advancement"—*properationem—præparationem*,—Oxf.

Ibid. "the mark T," Ezekiel ix. 3.—The T is not in the text, nor in our translation; but it is in the older English Bibles, and in the Latin and Hebrew, if we are to believe Jerome and Pagninus.

Ibid. "preach penitence."—The Church of Rome preaches nothing else: it is a profitable doctrine.

Page 44. "Phronesis."—"The three daughters of Phronesis are, Philosophy, Philology, and Philocalia. In the contemplation of divine things Phronesis is called Sophia."

Page 45. "permanent form"—*ylen endelecheia*—*entelecheia* would be perfect.—These words were introduced into Latin by the old translators.—"Hyle . es . en.—Primordial matter—something between something and nothing, between substance and no substance, incorporeal body, the receptacle of forms." Calcidius on Plato says, seeing darkness we see nothing, and hearing nothing we hear silence; so by understanding nothing (or what it means) we understand hyle.—Augustine says: I conceive something shapeless before I can

* A particular account of this sect is reserved for another occasion.

understand what nothing is.—The wise men of Gotham found a lobster on Salisbury Plain; after due consultation about what it might be, they came to a conclusion that it was something or something else.—Hermolaus Barbarus could not discover what Aristotle meant by entelecheia, without consulting the devil. Perhaps he was not aware of two words having different derivations and meanings, for there seems to be some uncertainty whether both were formerly used.

Entelecheia, or the intellect of matter, may apply to the earth as a whole, the mass remaining the same in quantity, though its parts undergo change, having their origin, perfection, and decay. But their perfection has not entelecheia, for they are not permanent in any state: in this way entelecheia is applicable also to perishable animate nature.

Amongst the various and often improper attributes men think proper to give to the great first cause of all (for they multiply them in the ratio of their own ignorance) Entelecheia is perhaps one of the least objectionable, if it means Intellect itself, without qualification; that is, the perfect (range of) idea and comprehension, that has so arranged the universe that it can go on for ever as a whole, without the possibility of obstruction or destruction from the changes and convulsions its parts may be liable to: it is also the soul of the whole, for it lives with it, and the whole would not exist without its cause. This, if we can find no better, we may call the attribute of Divinity; it is superior to Reason, which belongs to inferior nature and not to divinity; for reason is useless where there is no possibility of error, it is a guide where the perfect foreknowledge and intelligence of Entelecheia is wanting. If there is anything intuitive in man, it may be a slight emanation, an extra portion of soul, given to him to teach him to value and make a good use of his other gifts.

After all, there was no occasion for making two words of *endelecheia*, unless it was for technicality; for permanence and perfection, as they relate to matter, must be subject to the same limited meaning. The Egyptians seem to have considered chaos as a fluid mixture of all substances. Plato's *hyle* was their first form on being separated; they are now called primitive, which may answer well enough for distinction; but how can that be primitive, which is composite?

Page 47, "Logistoricus."—A sort of note book written by Varro, in which the subjects were arranged under different heads: it is not extant. There is a Varro amongst the Oxford MSS.,—we are not told what book.

Ibid. "9000 years."—See Plato's *Critias*.—The Bishop may have given a latitude to his fancy in this enumeration of lost books. Some of the authors can be traced, if other names may be given to them, according to the chronicles of various countries. The subject is too complicated for this place.

Ibid. "the demonstrative syllogism."—No positive proof of the practicability or impracticability of the solution of this problem has yet been produced. When it appears, it will be most remarkable for its simplicity.

Page 55. "never having disdained"—"preference to any."—There is a particular reason for these remarks. The great quarrel between the monks and parochial clergy was warmly carried on at this time. In page 37 the Preachers are called *coadjutors*: as teachers they were so; but they also took the offices of the Church upon themselves, received confessions, &c., and were no doubt paid for it. This took the people from the Church, many of whom never even received the sacrament in it, though the rule of the Church for doing so,

and previously confessing, at least once a year, to the parochial clergyman, was peremptory. The convent had many attractions for the people; they were educated in it, attended its chapel, and above all made companions of the monks, with whose conversation and stories they were much delighted. Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, was the principal mover in this controversy, though Wickliff's name is better known in it, owing to the effect his writings had in Bohemia, and perhaps to his translation of the Bible. Fitz-Ralph translated it into Irish, if not into English: it is certain there are two distinct translations of the time, and equally certain that there was an understanding between the translators. This is now known to a learned antiquary, who may perhaps be able to make further discoveries. The partiality shown to the Mendicants, in page 58, is reasonable: the author does not spare the idle part of them in other places. See page 43.

Page 56. "the aforesaid paupers" alludes to the Mendicants;—as also the "eleventh hour," in page 57. See also note on page 37, "study," &c.

Page 62. "Ovid, De Vetula."—A poem in three books, formerly attributed to Ovid, and printed in some of the early editions of his works. Those who reject this as a monkish performance may be very good critics; but why overlook *Metamorphosis* and *Metempsychosis*? If the soul of Ovid passed into a monk, there let it remain; indeed there never was a soul more likely than his to pass into the body of a monk. The monks were Ovids in everything but poetry. Unluckily there are no English translations of these and some other verses in this work; the translator was therefore

obliged to take Mr. Tonson's method, of getting them done by various hands, and after all to take a bit from one and a bit from another. Molière, or somebody else, speaks of a poet who could make a thousand first verses, but not one to rhyme to any of them. Poets who complain of poverty mistake their calling; they should write by the fathom, and leave writing by the foot to those who were born, like Pope, with a tongue in their head of the exact measure.

Page 64. "Euclid."—This story has been doubted. Aulus Gellius does not say he went every night, nor how he travelled; the danger was greater than the labour: 20,000 paces are less than 20 English miles.

Page 65. "passing through a dangerous abridgement of the regular course of study, they take take out a baneful diploma:" the translation should have been more to this effect.

Ibid. "dark waters,"—1 Cor. x. 1, 2.

Page 67. "indebted"—se debitoricem ostendat.—Query, show herself to England, replete with the knowledge of all nations.—The whole sentence is carelessly written. The Parisian school was spoken of with contempt by many about this time, and more so afterwards. Its Doctors excommunicated Thomas Aquinas, who laughed at them for their pains: the sentence remained on record, till after he was a canonized saint in heaven; when somebody happening to notice it, the Doctors stupidly reversed it by a public decree, instead of privately cancelling it and concealing their own folly and ignorance.

Page 69. "Tegni."—One of Galen's tracts is so called.

Page 70. The name of Horace is inserted here, though omitted in all the editions.

Ibid. "treatisers"—tractatores, of the orthodox faith.—
 "This black-mouthed treatiser," says an old writer. Such are the orthodox in general, for their faith is their own, and they have an evil word for all who do not adopt it. The Bishop meant to speak no better of them.

Page 71. "Theotocos"—divine genetrix.—According to the doctrine of the Athanasian Creed, the Virgin is the mother of God: she is expressly called his wife and mother in the Horæ for the use of Rome. Bonaventure made a Service for her, in which not only the Psalms but the Athanasian Creed is parodied:—"Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he must hold a firm faith in Mary, which unless he shall preserve entire and unviolated, without doubt he shall perish to all eternity," &c. As Bonaventure was canonized, the Church denies that he wrote this; but the proof is extant: it would not have been questioned but for the Reformers.

Page 73. Of Chapter XI. it may be said generally, that the Church and the Law were never on good terms, because lawyers were often obliged to defend themselves and others against the rapacity of the Church:—if they were also rapacious, the dislike between the parties would be the more confirmed. The lawyers were perhaps too prudent to write much against the Church; but the Church did not spare them, as may be seen in the legends and collections of miracles.

"A lawyer had often sold his tongue when living;—when he opened his mouth to take his last gasp, it disappeared." It is to be hoped he had redeemed the rest of his body.—The following ditty was found in a Breviary, apparently

of the 13th century, set to music so as to resemble the hymns :

Venditores labiorum,
 Fleant advocati,
 Qui plus student premiorum,
 Dande quantitati,
 Quam causæ qualitati.
 Ad consulta prelatorum,
 Multi sunt vocati.
 Sed electi pauci quorum,
 Adquiescat animorum,
 Virtus equitati.
 Parcunt veritati,
 Stantes causis pro reorum.
 Jus pervertunt decretorum,
 Sanctas leges antiquorum,
 Nummis obligati.
 Duplices probati,
 Mala foveant perversorum,
 Scelus operati,
 Quod attentat occultorum.
 Judex Chrite non eorum,
 Parcat falsitati.

Page 73. "Positive Law"—quia jus est ab homine positum—Papinianus.

Ibid. "Truly when"—read "as" or "because."

Page 74. "De Pomo et Morte."—This tract describes Aristotle as patiently waiting the approach of death, and refreshing himself with the smell of an apple or some other fruit. His friends or disciples lamented his situation, but expressed their surprise at his cheerfulness and resignation. He smiled and said, "Think not that I am cheerful because I

am about to escape the smallest of my infirmities (disease). I well know that I must die, and cannot evade death; its pains increase, and I might already have been dead but for the refreshment I receive from this apple, which may have prolonged my life for a few moments." He continued philosophizing till he expired. Hence the substance of his discourse, which was afterwards put in writing, was called "*De Pomo et Morte.*" Speaking of those Rhetoricians who make a bad use of their powers, to mislead others, he says: "Disputations are necessary, as the scorpion is useful in treacle,—it diminishes pain, but affords a remedy." The treacle of the old physicians was a mixture; they pretended it was made of scorpions and serpents in some remote country: it came from Egypt, where sugar was made. Venice treacle is a remnant of the ancient quackery. The numerous panegyrics upon Aristotle in this tract arise from his authority having been considered as infallible, in the middle ages, in all things that did not interfere with the Church; even that, was dependent upon him and other ancients for all its knowledge, and for the little it wrote well, as the 10th Chapter admits. It would be a tedious task to point out how many of the dogmas of the Church were taken from the ancients, and how often they were quoted and misquoted in support of some they never heard of—auricular confession for instance: "*Sane est nocturna vigilia et oris apertio.*" "*Sed tunc per oris apertionem confessio designatur.*" Aristot. *de Regimine Principum.*—Hippocrates is also quoted to the same effect. In the *Metalogicon* of John of Salisbury we are told why Aristotle was distinguished by the name of Philosopher above all other men:—"because he settled the demonstrative discipline, a science of the greatest authority amongst the Peripatetics." Pythagoras, however, was the first to whom the name was given. Thomas Aquinas la-

bours hard to prove Aristotle's orthodoxy, against those who doubt his belief in the immortality of the soul—see page 48. —“with some reason,” &c.

Page 75. “geology.”—The earliest authority I have met with for this word; and here it is but a poor joke—an earthly science.

Page 76. The Bishop's glossary, mentioned in Chap. XII., ought to have been preserved, as well as his amended books.

Page 77. Cheerfulness gives energy to labour, as beauty adds perfection to youth—is Aristotle's meaning.

Page 78. “to allure children.”—*Ut pueris, olim dant crustula, blandi Doctores, elementa velint ut discere primæ.*

Ibid. “Ellefuga.”—This word was a *pons asinorum* to some good Grecians,—but that is probably its meaning; at least making it the name of a problem gets over all difficulty. The allusion is to the flight of Helle, who turned giddy in taking a flying leap, mounted on a ram; and fell into the sea; —so a weak head fails in crossing the *pons*. The problem was invented by Pythagoras, “and it hath been called by barbarous writers of the latter time *Dulcarnon*.” Billingsley. —This name may have been invented after our author's time. Query, *δολκαρηνον*.

Ibid. “That son of inconstancy.”—There may be others to whom this would apply, but Nigellus is probably the person alluded to. He converts himself into an ass, and takes a fancy that his tail was not long enough; that is, a monk who wished, or whose friends wished him, to be an Abbot or Bishop. He went to Paris for his education, but he could not learn. He associated with the English, of whom he says—

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"Morsibus egregij verbis vultuq; venusti.
 Ingenio pollent, consilioq; vigent.
 Dona pluunt populis et detestantur avaros
 Fercula multiplicant, et sine lege bibunt."

It would not all do. "Cum nihil ex toto quodcunq; (docente magistro aut socio) potuit discere præter A. B." It is impossible to give an idea of the curious book containing the adventures of this worthy in a note. It was written about the end of the 12th century by an English monk named Wereker—if that is not a mistake for Yorick.

"Et si contigat me pontificalibus uti
 Quo poterit capitis mitra sedere loco."

If it had rained mitres, none of them would have fitted his head.

Page 79. "Turbat acumen."—"Desij," p. 88.—A mode of reference very convenient in old books that are not paged, &c.

Page 80. "Bede" is more quoted, and for a greater variety of learning, than any other writer. The name of Venerable was given him by common consent. One of the Popes was long after asked to canonize him; he said, "he had done it better for himself, and the Church could do him no greater honour."

Ibid. "Maro."—Mr. James puts "Varro" in the margin. The story may be found in Donatus's preface to Virgil.

Page 84. "will perish"—"Periere Cupidinis arcus."—The Oxford edition makes a quotation of this. It may be an allusion in the original, but quotation appears to have been purposely avoided—"perierunt Cupidinis artus omnes."

Page 85. "nobilem stoycum phīme nomine."—Col. "nobile scortum phyrne,"—Par. The Cologne editor seems to

have been at a loss for a name for his Stoic: it is not usual to contract proper names.

Ibid. "unde a quodam sic dictum est—Nulla libris," &c.—In the first edition the two middle lines are omitted: they are taken from John of Salisbury, and are not all together in the original. Many ideas in this book are from the same source—why say 'somebody'?—the Bishop certainly knew whose verses they were?

Page 86. "The demon"—appears by the context to be Lucifer. Cornelius Agrippa says, "Some worshiped a serpent as the inventor of science, that is, the Devil who taught Eve. Others say it was a certain spirit called Theutus, an enemy to mankind"—(Thoth). It is said by some that the commander sent to the Trojan war from Arcadia was Ornytus, but Homer calls him Teuthis: he is also called Theutis;—he wounded Minerva, who appeared to him after his return. Homer had some reason for choosing this name.

Page 91. "Moreover—" 92. "We do not read."—We have only the authority of John for what the author first alludes to; but John vii. 15, allows the Jews to say "Jesus never learnt letters or learning," without contradiction. In this place learning, and not writing, is the question: the word "wrote," in John viii. 6, should perhaps have been translated, "marked" or "drew," which it also means. If he wrote, why not tell us what? Translators need not make the Apostles contradict themselves. Mark vi. 3. does not contradict the Jews, who ask "Is not this the carpenter?" They knew he was. Indeed, if he did not study, how was he employed till he was thirty years old? Many Churchmen differ in opinion from the Bishop on this subject.

Page 92. "maimed"—see also page 42—and therefore disqualified by the Canonical Law.

Ibid. "upon his thigh."—Rev. xix. 16.

Page 96. There is no better preservation for a large book than a clasp, as it keeps out dust; but if hard substances are put into it they spoil it,—a very curious pair of scissors for instance, rusty and adhering to the leaves. Some old volumes are so heavy that they will not keep in shape without clasps. Erasmus says, "As for Thomas Aquinas's *Secunda Secundæ*, no man can carry it about, much less get it into his head." To add to the weight of such a volume, there are generally five large brass nails on each side, corners of the same, and four pegs to stand on; the title is on one of the sides (outside), written on parchment, with a piece of transparent horn over it, and a frame: some have an iron chain attached to them, perhaps to fasten them to a desk. The anathema, recommended in page 99, is often to be found on the first leaf:—"Cursed be he who shall steal or tear out the leaves, or in any way injure this book."

Page 98. "ad pulicis mordentis aculeum,"—according to the sting of the biting flea.

Page 99. "laymen."—The Church of Rome always had that sort of dread of books coming into the hands of laymen that marks a guilty conscience. But what is a layman? Albertus Magnus, commenting on Isaiah i. 3—"The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib"—says, "The ox is the priest who cultivates the soil of the hearts of the faithful;—the ass is the layman that carries the burthen of his master; he carries his pack-saddle, and carries his master, that food may be set before him in his manger."

Our Author says (in page 41), "Oxen plough and asses feed by them."—Job i. 14. Still calling the layman an ass :—it was a standing joke, and is yet so, even out of the Church of Rome. The very name of layman was invented as a mark of contempt, to denote an inferior animal, which the word *people* would not do without an offensive adjective. Every thing that the Roman Churchmen do and say is full of contradiction and perversity, because something sinister lurks under their acts and sayings, that even they, the most artful of men, cannot help mixing up with them. It was a bungle to call a priest an ox, for it is written, "The ox shall do no work on the Sabbath." Isaiah never meant to say that an ox did not know his master's manger as well as an ass, nor that the ox and the ass did not both work in their way for the same master, but neither solely to feed the other. Albertus Magnus was, in the opinion of some, the greatest man the Church ever produced ; that is, that he was equal if not superior to Thomas Aquinas in learning ; though one of the Popes said Aquinas was superior in sanctity, and therefore decreed that his Works should be received as the highest authority, next to the Gospel. The fact is, Albertus was far superior to Aquinas in secular learning. They may both have been good moral men, but they taught nothing to the people, unless it were their duty to a Church that was any thing but Christian ; to believe in the Church and not in the Gospel, which they universally perverted, and consequently found it necessary to withhold it from public inspection, though it was intended to be the people's own book, and to be adapted to the understandings of men, women, and children, of all conditions. Our author says, "The clergy ought to teach by sound doctrine, and by the example of their lives." Of their example generally, John of Salisbury says, "Terret me Aggeus, parabola mystica sacerdotij periculum

exprimens et manifeste docens, quia populus a sacerdotum moribus facilius vitia contrahit quam virtutes.”—*Policrat. vi. 7.*—“because the people more readily contract vice than virtue from the manners of the priesthood.” So say all the Roman Catholic writers, and so they would have it, because the sins of the people must all be confessed and redeemed by large gifts to the Church. So say all sectaries,—they alone know the road to salvation,—it is through their meeting, which he who would be saved must patronize. A national Church would stand clear of such an imputation, if it enforced no incredible or absurd doctrines; if its priests were clean-handed, and as moral as those who are considered good members of society; if they received their salaries from a fund, without being their own collectors; and above all, if their body had no political character, and the individuals composing it, would abstain from forcing themselves into judicial situations. Truly, it is a very suspicious mark of the merciful feelings of a parson, to commit his parishioner and pupil to prison, to be tried for life or death, who would perhaps not have been a criminal if he had been better instructed; and whom he ought rather, if possible, to save and restore to virtuous habits, that he may not only make his peace with the society he has injured, but thereby more certainly insure his peace with God. “Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.”

Page 100. “scullion.”—The monks in many monasteries performed all the menial offices,—it was a proof of humility. When the Pope sent two nuncios to Bonaventure with a Cardinal’s hat, they found him in a convent, where he was only a visitor, washing dishes.

Page 45. "We lament Pythagoras." There may be an omission here of what was said of Pythagoras. Orpheus was lacerated by Ciconian women, but there is no authority for any such story of Pythagoras.

Ibid. It was Zeno, the founder of the Eleatic sect, and not the Stoic, of whom this story is related. Nearly the same story is told of Anaxarchus: his name is accidentally omitted in the 1st edit. 1473; but the words "heu jam rursus" show that it must have been in the original text.

Page 65. *For* Parmenias read Περὶ Ἐπεμενίας—On Interpretation; a logical treatise which follows that on the Categories.—"In his heart's blood:" this is a corruption of the eulogy bestowed on Aristotle by a Greek writer, who says "he dipped his pen in intellect."

Quisquis theologus, quisquis legista peritus
Vis fieri; multos semper habeto Libros
Pristina gestorum quæ condita vulgus haberet
Cum legis in charta, mens tua commemorat
Non in mente manet quicquid nos vidimus ipsi,
Quisque sibi libros vendicet ergo. Vale.

THE END.

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